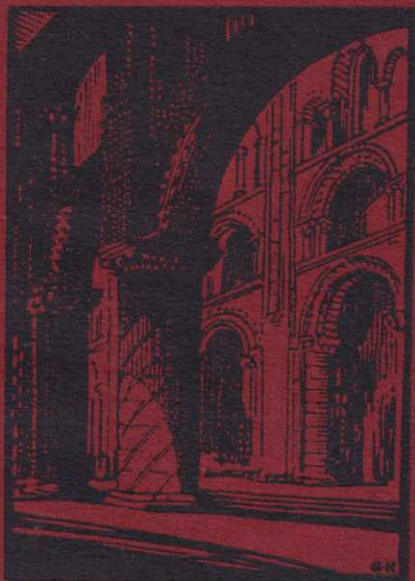


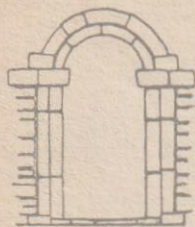
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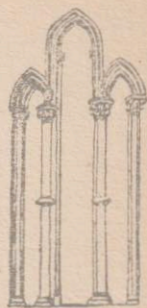


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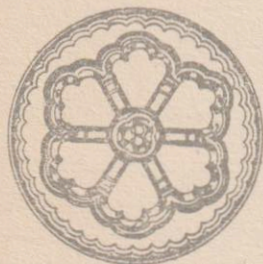
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ST. MARY REDCLIFFE, BRISTOL.

The nave looking towards the choir.

On the left is the monument to Sir William Penn, Kt, Vice-Admiral and General in the Commonwealth and Restoration periods.





CATHEDRALS, ABBEYS  
& FAMOUS CHURCHES

EDITED BY - GORDON HOME

BRISTOL  
BATH  
& MALMESBURY

WITH A SHORT ACCOUNT  
OF BRADFORD-ON-AVON

BY  
GORDON HOME  
& EDWARD FOORD

MCMXXV

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## PREFACE

THIS book is one of a series of volumes devoted to cathedrals, abbeys and famous churches. They are planned to be small enough for the pocket and yet sufficiently large to give adequate scope for illustration and a very readable size of type.

The aim which I have set before me in these books is the presentation, as far as possible, of *the personal aspects of the great buildings*. I have encouraged the authors to write as fully as space permits of the men who raised the vast structures, and of those whose energy and enterprise brought about the successive remodellings and reconstructions which have left to the present age these inspiring works, of what I do not hesitate to call the noblest and most all-embracing forms of art. The men and women whose monuments or unmarked burial-places are in the cathedrals, have, as far as possible, been presented as human beings. While the architecture is fully described, the authors have been urged not to try the patience of those to whom architectural terminology conveys comparatively little. It is my hope, therefore, that the books will stimulate the interest of many who have in the



past found the great churches of England a ponderous and uninspiring subject.

In regard to the illustrations, I have made a determined effort to avoid the stereotyped points of view, and to present some of the less familiar aspects of the structures. Last autumn I visited the places concerned for the purposes of this book and took the photographs which appear in these pages.

I take this opportunity of thanking Mr. Francis Barnard, churchwarden of St. Mary Redcliffe, and also Miss Barnard, for their kindness in many matters in connection with the chapter dealing with their most stately church.

The end-papers at the back and front of this book are intended to act as convenient reminders of the main features of mediæval architecture and costume.

GORDON HOME.

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# BRISTOL, BATH AND MALMESBURY

## CHAPTER I

### BRISTOL CATHEDRAL

#### HISTORICAL



**O**f all the great cities of England it might be thought that none would be so devoid of ecclesiastical memories as Bristol, the great trading seaport of the West, with its traditions of commerce, seafaring, exploration and warfare. That feeling is rather intensified when the traveller finds himself in the great busy city, with its teeming docks and quays fringed by somewhat dingy streets of offices and warehouses. Nor is it removed by ascending to the fine residential quarters about the gorge of the Avon at Clifton. Here are to be found much which speaks of wealth and comfort, but certainly no more of religion than in the West End of London. And yet Bristol possesses a group of ecclesiastical monuments inferior to few in the kingdom. It has a cathedral which is by no means the least beautiful among its fellows, and possesses some features of exceptional interest. It boasts of the finest, if not quite the largest, parish church in



England, and, besides, there are in Bristol at least two other places of worship which would be the glory of smaller towns, though they are almost lost amid the commercial buildings of the great seaport.

Bristol, like more than one town in Western Europe, claims a legendary antiquity which is not supported upon any firm basis of fact. According to the legends, it was founded by the mythical British king Dynwval Moelmyd and his sons, Brennus and Belinus. That is unquestionably as much fable as the kings themselves; and it is not very probable that the site was in any sense of the word occupied until after the Christian era. Of Roman settlements in the lower valley of the Avon there is clear evidence in the form of many coin-finds, but these are for the most part in the neighbourhood of Bristol, not in the city itself, though a certain number of pieces have without doubt been discovered upon the site. Of buildings of any substantial description there seems not to be any real trace, and it is a difficult matter for the practical historian to subscribe to the enthusiastic fancies of Messrs. Nicholls and Taylor, who have drawn pictures of a busy seaport on the site of Bristol in the age of Constantine the Great. The fact is that in the Roman era there was no *raison d'être* for Bristol. So far as is known and is probable, there was no perceptible volume of trade with half-savage Ireland. The great Romano-British town of the district was *Aquæ Sulis* (Bath), while the maritime station was Avonmouth. Between Bath and Avonmouth, on both sides of the river, were several manors or *villæ*, but the available archæological evidence, taken in combination with



historical considerations, does not permit the assumption of anything more than a small fishing and seafaring village at the junction of the Frome with the Avon.

The cataloguing of the coin-finds is incomplete, but on the whole they seem to peter out with Constantius II. (337-61). Allowing a competent time for period of drift from their places of mintage to this extreme western edge of the Roman Empire, a date would be obtained for the disappearance of these settlements of perhaps 367-95, and this harmonises exceedingly well with the scanty historical evidence. From about 360 to 405 the west of Britain was raided and harassed intermittently by the Irish ("Scots" as they were then called). Many villas were destroyed and not afterwards occupied, and it is probable that the small settlement by the gorge of the Avon went up in flames. Certain it is that for five centuries after the "Departure of the Eagles" there is no mention of Bristol.

Leland and Camden are responsible for a story that St. Jordan, one of the companions of St. Augustine, settled at Bristol, and was buried on the College Green—that is, within the precincts of the abbey. There is, however, no trace of a St. Jordan in the calendar, and it is much to be feared that the legend was fabricated by the Augustinian canons in order to throw a halo round their foundation. Bristol was in the XIIIth century one of the principal towns of England, and the monks probably felt mortified at its lack of history as compared with its fellows. Therefore they appeared to have concocted a story which should

equate their abbey with those of Canterbury and other ecclesiastical centres of England. How, when, or why they invented the name Jordan it is hard to understand, but possibly the fabricator had heard of Jordanes, the Gothic bishop and writer. However that may be, "St. Jordan" must be relegated to the limbo of fable, no less than his settlement at Bristol.

There is indeed no clear indication of the existence of Bristol before the xth century, towards the end of which, under Aethelred "the redeless,"<sup>1</sup> it possessed a mint. It was especially favoured by Cnut, and it is possible that it was, to a certain extent, a cosmopolitan town owing its early prosperity to profitable dealing with the Viking colonies in Ireland. Certainly its connection with the Viking seaport of Dublin was close, and it is equally certain that at this time its merchants had an evil reputation as slavers, kidnapping boys and girls and selling them to the Irish—that is, as I imagine, to the Vikings of Ireland.

At the Norman Conquest Bristol paid a direct tax to the king of 110 marks, but it had no municipal status, being merely a part of the royal manor of Barton. William I. appointed as his constable his follower Geoffrey, Bishop of Coutances, a very active and worldly unpriestlike prince of the Church, who was much better accustomed to mace and sword than to mass-book and crosier. Yet he lived on friendly terms with St. Wulfstan of Worcester, whom he endeavoured to persuade to dress more splendidly. He was probably the founder of the castle—then merely of the

<sup>1</sup> "Un-raed"—not "unready," but "un-counselled" or "unwise." Perhaps "wrong-headed" is the best translation.



mound-and-bailey palisaded type, like the *burhs* of Alfred and his children. Doubtless the fort was of importance as exercising a check upon the turbulent Bristolians, with their not very pleasant habits of slave-dealing and trading with public enemies. The disgraceful commerce in English slaves was, however, at last put down by the Conqueror and St. Wulfstan. The king issued ordinances and the good bishop established himself in the town, and, by force of his personality and by eloquent denunciation, finally brought about a better state of things. Wulfstan's biographer says that the practice entirely ceased, and that may be correct in so far as the kidnapping of English children, or bringing up children with the deliberate purpose of selling them, is concerned. But that the slave-trade was absolutely eradicated is hardly probable: Bristol remained notorious for it down to the nineteenth century. The fact does not detract from the credit due to William the Conqueror, whose "stark" temper had odd touches of a humanity far in advance of his age. Nor does it diminish the honour due to Wulfstan of Worcester, one of the best men of an unenlightened age, whose high character won him the regard and confidence of those who, like Archbishop Lanfranc, were at first prejudiced against him.

At the death of William I., Geoffrey de Coutances, almost as a matter of course, sided with Odo of Bayeux and his associates against William Rufus, and had to flee to Normandy. In his place as guardian of Bristol the Red King appointed his faithful supporter, Robert Fitz Hamo, who has been mentioned in other works of this series. Fitz Hamo was in all respects a man of

merit, much above that of the average Norman baron. He died sonless, and his daughter Mabel was married by Henry I. to his natural son Robert, Earl of Gloucester. The consequence was that, during the civil wars of the reign of Stephen, Bristol became almost the capital of the Empress Maud. After his defeat and capture at Lincoln in 1141, Stephen was held captive in the castle for some nine months until the fortune of war threw Earl Robert into the hands of his enemies and brought about an exchange of the two protagonists. Bristol is said to have had much to endure at the hands of the rude soldiery of Maud and Robert, but in an age when every freeman bore arms and when it was all to the interests of the empress and the earl to conciliate their supporters, this may be questioned. The prosperity of the city does not seem materially to have suffered, and it was during this agitated period that Robert's supporter, Robert Fitz-Harding (modern Fitzhardinge), founded an Augustinian canonry outside the walls, the church of which afterwards became the cathedral.

The foundation of the monastery is noteworthy in two respects—first, on account of the founder's family; secondly, because of the legendary renown of the site. The Fitzhardinges are one of the few aristocratic families of the first rank which can trace their descent clearly from pre-Conquest times to the present day. The first prominent member of the family was Eadnoth, "Staller" or Marshal of Eadweard the Confessor. Eadnoth made his peace with William I., but fell in 1067 fighting against the sons of Harold. He had a son named Harding, who was apparently







G. H.

TWO OF THE "STELLATE" FORM OF TOMB RECESS IN  
BRISTOL CATHEDRAL

They are in the south choir aisle, and the nearer is attributed to Maurice II. or III., Lord of Berkeley, and the other to Thomas II.

presently succeeded in the enjoyment of the family honours by a son of the same name. This seems probable on consideration of the dates. It is also possible that Harding II. was "Harding the Englishman" who played a prominent part at the Battle of Jaffa in 1102. At the same time this is not quite certain, and there may have been only one person of this name, though in that case he must have been a quite unusually aged man to be mentioned as living by William of Malmesbury about 1120-5.

In any case there is no doubt as to the identity of Robert Fitz-Harding, though his precise position in the genealogy is somewhat obscure. He was a steady supporter of Maud and her half-brother, and no doubt did not lose by his fidelity. In 1142 (the date is fixed by the statement that Henry II. was nine years old), Fitz-Harding bethought himself of the salvation of his soul, and decided to found a monastery of Augustinian canons on his property outside the walls of Bristol. The popularity of this body among founders of religious houses of the time is rather remarkable: it will be remembered that William of Warelwast and Rahere preferred them to the regular orders of monks. It is possible that men of sense even then realised that the comparatively liberal rule of the Augustinians was more likely to be followed than the extreme asceticism of the Cistercians and their imitators.

It is said that the new monastery was consecrated in 1148, but concerning this there is considerable doubt, for the names of the bishops who performed the ceremony do not correspond with those of the holders of the sees in that year, and there are



other discrepancies, although the main facts may be correct.

Henry II., then only the fifteen-year-old Duke of Normandy, was in a certain sense a co-founder of the house, since he allowed Fitz-Harding to endow the canonry with manors which he held of the Crown. He also granted the canons a yearly rent of ten marks, and promised to double it when he became King of England. In fact, the monastery was liberally endowed at the outset, and during the next century it added greatly to its possessions, holding several benefices in Ireland as well as in England and South Wales. Sir Robert Fitz-Harding ended his life as an inmate, and his successors were not backward in enriching the community which he had founded. Nevertheless, the monastery was not a well-regulated one, and was frequently in debt, while its internal condition seems often to have been defective.

The original buildings were, of course, Late Norman in their architecture, and the chapter-house and gateway, which survive, furnish some evidence as to the beauty of the whole. The nave of the church seems to have been almost as large as that of the present day, though narrower: the choir was presumably of the apse-ended type then customary. The edifice appears to have been completed in all essentials by about 1155, in which case progress had been fairly rapid, considering the troubled times.

The first abbot, Richard, ruled the monastery for thirty-eight years, and passed from it to the bishopric of Dol in Brittany. After the interposition of three more or less insignificant successors came David



(1216-34), who probably commenced the first noteworthy addition to the church in the form of the Elder Lady Chapel. This seems likely since he was buried in that portion of the building, though the chapel may not have been completed until later. The history of the community during the next seventy years contains little which is creditable or deserving of note—except that it was disorderly, and required constant supervision from the bishops of Worcester. In 1278 Bishop Giffard was most emphatic: he said flatly that the abbey was *damnabiliter prolapsum*! (possibly meaning a state of criminal backsliding).

Abbot Edmund Knowle (1306-32) appears to have encountered all kinds of difficulties in the regulation of his community, and in 1320 Bishop Cobham once more severely criticised its management. With his help, Abbot Knowle was able to introduce better discipline, and his work was continued by John Snowe (1332-41), so that in 1339, when Bishop de Bransford descended upon the monastery, he was agreeably pleased to find that, except as regarded certain details, it was in a good and orderly condition. He was, however, not pleased to find that the church was still roofless.

The reason for this was that, some twenty years before, Abbot Knowle had begun to rebuild the church in the beautiful and unparalleled Decorated style, which may be studied in its original form in the choir and transepts, and in replica in the nave. The original features are, especially, the graceful transom-bridges in the aisles, which the abbot-architect devised to withstand the lateral thrust of the choir vaulting,

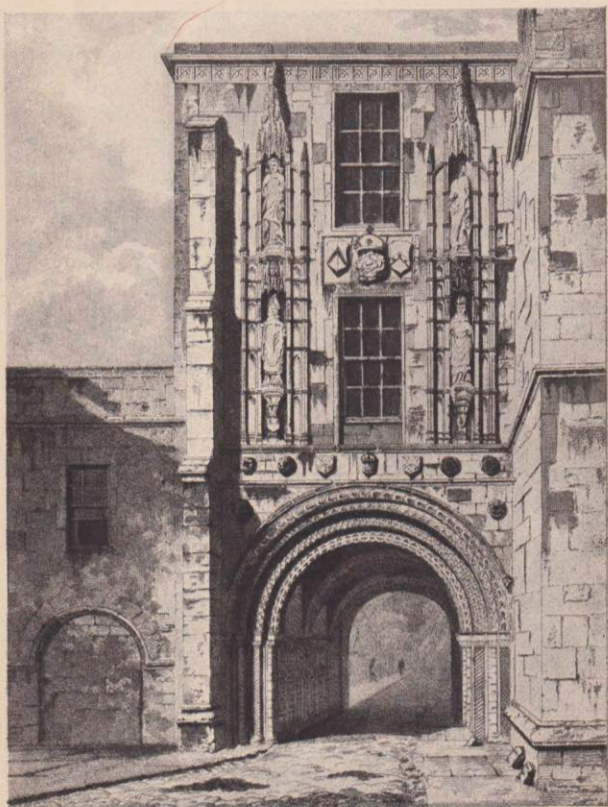
and the stellate recess-tombs. It may be assumed that Abbot Snowe and his successor, Ralph Aske, carried out the injunctions of Bishop de Bransford, for there are few traces of Perpendicular work in the choir and Lady Chapel—that is, they must have been completed by 1350 or earlier.

The church must now have presented a curious and incoherent-looking appearance, with its Decorated choir and transepts and Norman nave, and the Elder Lady Chapel of Early English style filling the angle between the choir and the north transept. And in this condition, except for some slight additions and alterations, it remained for more than a century until about 1468, when Abbot Newberry<sup>1</sup> commenced the rebuilding of the Norman central tower. The work was probably completed by his successor, William Hunt, largely, as it would seem, at his own expense.

It is probable that Hunt's successor, John de Newland, contemplated the replacing of the Norman nave with a new one in the prevailing Perpendicular style, and he is said indeed to have made a commencement of the proposed work, but it did not go very far. Newland was probably the best of the rulers of the monastery, and earned the title of "The Good Abbot." He was more deeply interested in literature than art, and his monument was not the rebuilding of the nave, but the register of events in the history of the abbey which he compiled. It is called Abbot Newland's Roll and includes a list of the Lords of Berkeley.

The last architectural alteration of any magnitude was made by Abbot Robert Elyot (1515-26), who

<sup>1</sup> Also spelt Newbury and Newbery.



THE NORMAN AND PERPENDICULAR GATEWAY OF THE  
AUGUSTINIAN ABBEY OF BRISTOL

Although the archway appears to belong to the late Norman period, it is probably a careful xvth-century reconstruction.

*From an engraving of a drawing by F. Mackenzie dated 1811.*





rebuilt the cloister and the main gateway. Posterity owes him a debt of gratitude for sparing the beautiful Norman archway. His successors, John Somerset (1526-33), and William Burton (1533-7), made some slight additions and alterations in the interior, as is shown by the fact that the rebus of Burton appears in the Lady Chapel. Burton's successor, William Morgan, surrendered the abbey to the commissioners of Henry VIII. in 1539, receiving a pension of £80 per annum. The eleven canons were granted from £6 to £8 each per annum, and forty-six officers and servants were paid off. The proportion of servants to canons appears enormous, and one suspects that the charge of waste made against many of the monasteries was not altogether groundless. The income of Bristol Abbey was £692 per annum (about £7000 in gold value).

The church would, no doubt, have shared the fate of many another monastic place of worship had not the king determined to create a bishopric of Bristol. The Royal order directed that so much of the church as was in good repair should become the cathedral. The nave was certainly in a ruinous condition at the time of the surrender—it is possible that Abbot Newland had begun to demolish it in order to prepare for his contemplated rebuilding in the Perpendicular style. In any case, it was completely pulled down between 1539 and 1545. The truncated edifice which remained became Bristol Cathedral. In 1561 various "relics of idolatry" were destroyed by Royal order and replaced by whitewashed plaster. One suspects that Queen Elizabeth signed the order with a wry

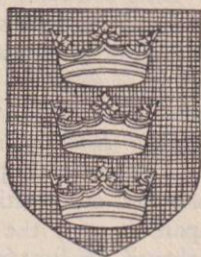
face and, since she could not offend the Protestant councillors who were her most loyal supporters, relieved her feelings by some of the strong language which she was but too ready to employ.

Such as it was, the dean and chapter of Bristol took the greatest care of their little cathedral, and Browne Willis says that in 1721 it was in excellent condition, and that the example of the chapter was one worthy of being followed by those of the richest and most ancient cathedrals. The edifice naturally suffered considerably during the Great Civil War, when Bristol had to endure two sieges, but it was not materially damaged, though the cloister fell more and more into decay, and houses occupied the site of the nave. A good deal of money was expended on the work of repair between 1660 and 1685, the famous Bristol philanthropist, Edward Colston, taking a prominent part, but the restorations were of the tasteless kind common in those times, and though the cathedral may have been "decent," as Browne Willis says, it can hardly have been a thing of beauty as a whole.

In 1835 the houses on the site of the nave were removed. Five years later a commencement was made of true restoration, and in 1852 and 1860 there was much external rearrangement and decoration, the major part of which was afterwards swept away. In 1868 the work was at last commenced of building a new nave. The architect was G. E. Street, who superintended all the works at the cathedral until his death in 1881, when he was succeeded by John Loughborough Pearson. The nave was completed in 1888; then the Abbey Gateway was taken in hand. Two years



later the north transept was restored, and in 1892 Pearson began to rehabilitate the almost ruinous Elder Lady Chapel, while next year the restoration of the central tower was commenced. Finally, in 1899, a new reredos was erected. There can be no question of the energy and public spirit displayed in the restoration of Bristol Cathedral: whether there has been a commensurate amount of wisdom and artistry is another matter. But at least the building has to-day the aspect and atmosphere of an episcopal church; and is not altogether unworthy of the great city in which it stands.



ARMS OF THE SEE OF BRISTOL

## CHAPTER II

### BRISTOL CATHEDRAL: THE BUILDING

#### EXTERIOR

**I**t cannot be said that the exterior of Bristol Cathedral is especially interesting or impressive. Its west front and the nave are modern and therefore lack real interest, while the eastward portion has no very distinctive features, certainly none sufficient to raise the entire edifice to more than a modest standard of merit. Of these features the only outstanding one is the central tower, and it is difficult, on any count, to equate it with those of the other towered cathedrals of England. Externally Bristol Cathedral does not to any great degree attract or impress.

THE WEST FRONT as a composition is perhaps fair, although to compare it with the façade of Nôtre-Dame of Paris is absurd. Its best feature is the porch, but even here the gable is too much flattened and consequently feeble, though the details are good, and there is considerable mystery in the shadowed recess of the porch itself. The towers seem to be neither Decorated nor Early English, and the insertion of large windows into their lowermost stages gives them an overweighted appearance. The second stages considered by themselves are good and graceful: but the

tall third stories have no very apparent connection with those below, while the short broad conical pinnacles hardly add to the dignity of the structures which they crown. The façade has certain merits, but it is not inspiring: it rather seems to indicate that the composition of splendid Gothic frontages is beyond the capacity of English architects of any age. In so far as it possesses any pronounced characteristics, they are those of a diminutive French façade of the grand period of French Gothic architecture. It is cathedralesque—no more can justly be said of it.

The view of the entire building from the north-west—that is, from College Green—is fairly pleasing, and not without dignity, although there is a certain sense of too much length and too little height, and the central tower is very clearly not lofty enough to dominate those of the west front. The fact that the roofs of the aisles are raised to the level of that of the nave and choir also gives a squat appearance to the whole pile.

Very much the same impression is conveyed by the view from the south-east, although the grouping of the central portion is, upon a closer survey, by no means unpleasing. Taking station a little to the south-east of the chapter-house, the spectator obtains an impression of building rising behind building in a distinctly satisfying fashion—in the foreground the chapter-house, behind it the south transept and the Newton Chapel, and beyond and above the ornate arcading of the central tower.

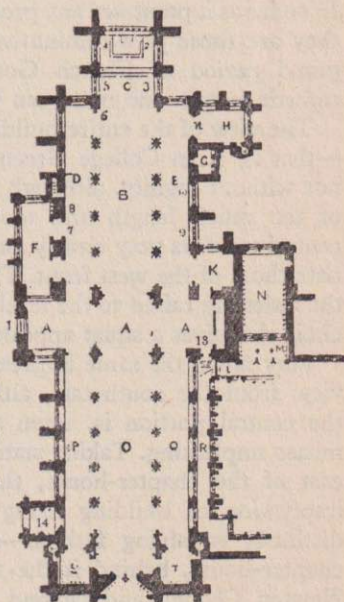
The most pleasant prospect is, however, probably that from the north-east, standing at the corner of College Green. It is necessary to approach fairly



- A Tower and Transepts.  
 B Choir.  
 C Lady Chapel.  
 D North Choir Aisle.  
 E South Choir Aisle.  
 F Elder Lady Chapel.  
 G Ante-Chamber to Berkeley Chapel.  
 H Berkeley Chapel.

- K Newton Chapel.  
 L Cloister.  
 M Vestibule of Chapter-House.  
 N Chapter-House.  
 O Nave.  
 P Nave (North Aisle).  
 Q Nave (South Aisle).  
 R North Walk of Cloister.  
 S North-West Tower.  
 T South-West Tower.

1. North Entrance.  
 2. Sedilia.  
 3. Monument to Abbot Newland.  
 4. " Abbot Knowle.  
 5. " Abbot Newberry.  
 6. " Abbot Bush.  
 7. " Maurice, Lord Berkeley and Wife.  
 8. Staircase to Triforium and Tower.  
 9. Monument to Thomas, Lord Berkeley.  
 10. " Maurice, Lord Berkeley.  
 11. " Thomas, Lord Berkeley II.  
 12. Entrance to Cloister.  
 13. North Porch.



SCALE OF FEET

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100

PLAN OF BRISTOL CATHEDRAL

closely, because at a distance the weak points—straggling length and low central tower—become apparent. Viewed closely, the choir, Elder Lady Chapel and north transept form a quite harmonious and pleasing group in conjunction with the central tower, while the towers of the west front are sufficiently far distant not to dominate the former. To some it may seem that the superior elevation of the fourth pinnacle of each tower was an unhappy inspiration. The central tower, at any rate, would gain very much in dignity were its pinnacles of equal height. Still, from the north-east the small cathedral has an appearance of considerable stateliness, and the real beauty of its eastward member is well seen.

**THE CENTRAL TOWER.** It is a rather squat structure in two stages. The lower has angle buttresses, which give a singular and not especially pleasing outline to the whole. The special feature is that there are five openings on each face of the two stages—that is, forty in all. The second stage is crowned by a graceful cornice and parapet. Had the tower been carried up another stage, with a well-designed group of pinnacles to crown it, the whole building would have been given its correct values, while the silhouette would have been impressive and might easily have been very beautiful. Possibly this addition will be made in years to come.

Both from north and south the general aspect of the ancient arm of the cathedral is as a whole both stately and pleasing. In the choir especially, there is an engaging contrast between the sturdy turret-like buttresses rising cleanly from the ground without pretence or finesse and the geometrical tracery of the

## Bristol Cathedral: The Interior

windows which they separate. The north transept also presents an admirable continuation of vigour and beauty. The Elder Lady Chapel, though of small dimensions, has an aspect of simple dignity beyond its size, and serves to remind the observer that, if the general outline be not very satisfying, there are many excellent things in Bristol Cathedral.

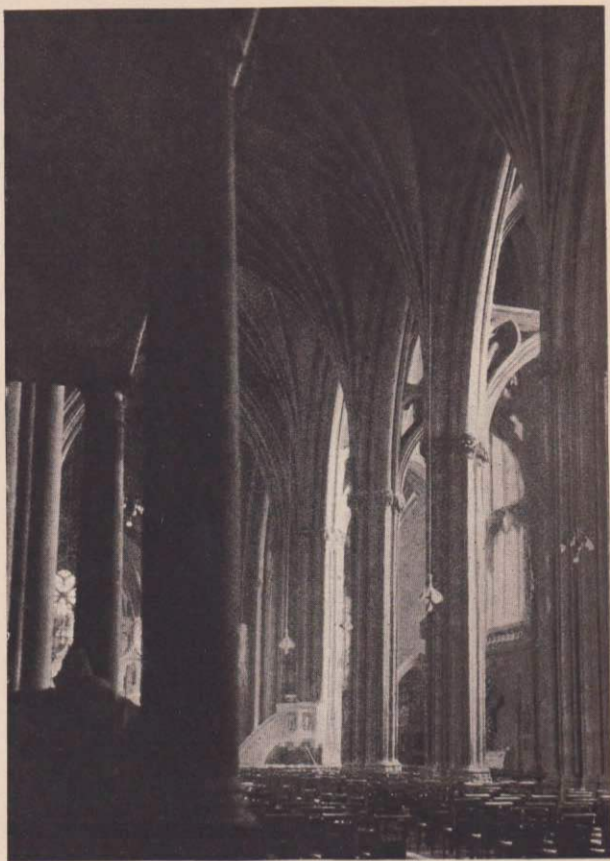
### THE INTERIOR

THE NAVE is a completely modern addition finished in 1888. It consists properly of six bays, but the two westernmost are the lower walls of the towers, so that in appearance there are only five. Street's task was practically marked out for him by the dean and chapter: it was the building of such a nave as Abbot Knowle would have constructed had he lived. Street himself, while conforming to the main idea, said that he desired to introduce such freedom of treatment as would show no mere slavish imitation of the earlier model. This is well enough. The nave is quite good modern Decorated Gothic, and the capitals of the shafts which form the grouped piers are pleasingly varied in design. But in spite of Street's excellent intentions a certain mechanism in copying is apparent.

The retaining arches in the aisles are such a distinctive feature of the cathedral that it would have been an artistic error to omit them in the new nave, but the continuation of some of the pier mouldings upwards into the vault certainly seems to be a feature somewhat "slavishly" borrowed. Much the same is to be said of the shallow recesses in the walls, which are







*G. H.*

THE NAVE OF BRISTOL CATHEDRAL FROM THE WEST

It is without clerestory or triforium, light from the aisles coming through the very lofty arches of the arcades. The previous nave was ruinous at the Dissolution, and had been entirely demolished by 1545. The present structure, designed by G. E. Street, R.A., was completed in 1888.

feeble adaptations of those of beautiful stellate form in the choir. Here Street was probably hampered by his ecclesiastical directors, especially Dean Elliott, whose tomb occupies one of the openings for which he is said to have been responsible.

Whatever may be its defects, there can be no question that the nave fitly completes the formerly truncated cathedral. The long vista from west to east is impressive: the sense of harmony very strong. The contour of the vault is opulent and satisfying; and the vista terminates in one of the finest Decorated windows in the land.

At the west end of the nave are two early xviiith-century monuments with effigies. That on the south side is to Sir Charles Vaughan, who is shown in complete armour and resting on his elbow. He was twice married and his second wife "would not willingly have survived him had God not so ordered it." The other tomb is that of Sir John Young and his wife. Below are shown the kneeling figures of eight children, all bent backwards in the oddest manner. The heads have unfortunately been broken off.

The south-western tower contains the baptistery. The font is modern, and calls for no special notice. The same is to be said of the pulpit, and other fittings: and since space is limited, examination of the modern stained glass may well be left to the curious visitor.

THE TRANSEPTS. Although the north and south walls of the transepts are in the main the work of the Norman builders, the interiors present the appearance of Perpendicular buildings, with some remains of the Early English remodelling carried out in the xiiiith



century. Being of Norman plan they are short and without aisles. Each has two bays. The roof of the northern transept is the finer: it is an admirable specimen of Late Perpendicular lierne vaulting with richly-sculptured bosses, the subjects being the emblem of the Holy Trinity and the various symbols and instruments of the Passion of Christ. The roof of the south transept is a groined vault of slightly earlier date. The great north window of THE NORTH TRANSEPT was originally Early English; the present opening is modern, more or less preserving the same style. It is filled with fairly good modern stained glass to the memory of Edward Colston, the famous Bristolian philanthropist (1636-1721).

Edward Colston was the son of William Colston, merchant and alderman of the city of Bristol, a strong royalist, who was one of the principal supporters of Charles I. in the west and entertained him in princely fashion at his house in September 1643. The triumph of Parliament of course involved the removal of William Colston from his municipal rank, but he certainly saved some part of his fortune, though the predominance of the Parliamentary party at Bristol caused him to remove to London, his son being educated at Christ's Hospital. Edward Colston became a governor of the school in 1680, and throughout his life manifested a warm interest in it, his benefactions amounting to over £2000. At his father's death he succeeded to his business as a merchant-trader—also to his strong and rather violent Royalist or Tory political views, which he stoutly retained to the end of his life. He was a staunch high Anglican churchman,

and all his public benefactions were strictly in connection with the Church.

Naturally such a man had many bitter enemies, and in consequence many libels were disseminated concerning his life and aims. The fact that he lived and died a bachelor was sufficient for imputations to be cast upon his moral character. The truth seems to be that he was a truly benevolent man, upright and clean-living, but also a hard-headed man of affairs, with the somewhat peremptory speech and manner which often belong to the successful business man. He was almost fanatically attached to the Church of England, and may thus be accused of narrowness of mind, but in this respect he was neither better nor worse than thousands of his equals.

Colston did not reside in Bristol during the latter part of his life: he moved to Middlesex and settled at Mortlake, where he lived from 1688 to his death in 1721. Possibly the municipal government of Bristol was becoming too Whiggish for his tastes—but he did not forget his native city, and his most munificent bequests to it date from these later years. His greatest foundation was the school which bears his name, the seat of which is now at Stapleton, in Gloucestershire. The cost of the building and endowment was £40,000, equivalent to about £100,000 in present gold value. His other public benefactions, as far as ascertained, amount to £31,000, but besides this his private bequests were enormous. In 1708-9 he gave £20,000 for the relief of the poor throughout England, and on another occasion presented £3000 for the relief of poor debtors in the Marshalsea. His business acumen

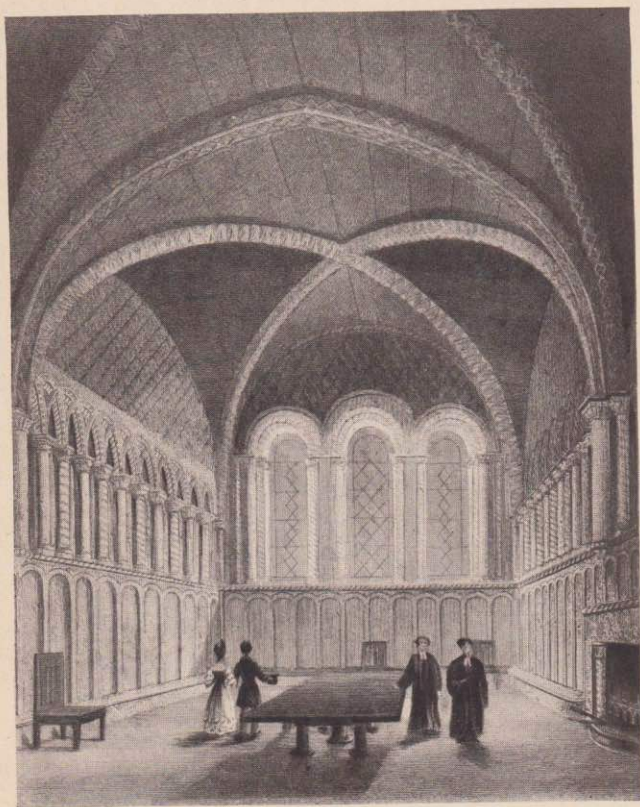
## 32 Bristol Cathedral: The Interior

made him an ideal benefactor, for he always took care to see that his bequests were administered in the most practical manner.

Colston's merits were ultimately recognised by all Bristolians, regardless of political prejudices, and his memory is celebrated to-day by four associations: the Colston Society, founded in 1726; the Dolphin Society, established by the Tories of Bristol in 1749; the Grateful Society, a non-political association, founded in 1758, and lastly the Anchor Society, formed by Whigs in 1769. Thus in the end all classes and parties united to honour the name of Edward Colston. It is also proper to observe that, at the annual celebration held by these societies, a primary object is the collection of funds for charitable purposes—as Colston would have desired.

One suspects that in the private life of this munificent merchant there was something lonely, perhaps melancholy. He never married. It is said, on no good authority, that he was shocked to find that the lady on whom his affections were set showed very plainly that she had no sympathy with his profuse charity, so that he did not press his suit. In later life his house at Mortlake was managed first by his sister, then by a niece. Both of them predeceased him, as did a much-loved nephew, and in 1721 the aged philanthropist, blind and ailing, had apparently no living relation. A lady living near kindly came to read to him when she had leisure, and so the old man's last days passed away until, on 11 October, he died. He did not forget his kindly friend in his will, leaving her £100 in return for her attention.





THE NORMAN CHAPTER-HOUSE OF BRISTOL CATHEDRAL  
*From an engraving of a drawing by R. Garland published in 1838.*



Another philanthropist of a different kind commemorated in this transept is Mary Carpenter, the famous foundress of ragged schools and prison reformer (1807-77). Miss Carpenter's work belongs rather to the world than to England or Bristol, and in certain respects it may be that her zeal and philanthropic sentiment outpaced judgment, as they did not in the case of Colston. But her labours on behalf of poor children and juvenile delinquents have been of the highest and most enduring value, and if to-day the youthful offender against the law is not treated as an almost unhuman outcast, very much of the amelioration is directly due to Mary Carpenter.

Close by the tablet to Miss Carpenter is that of F. J. Fergus—"Hugh Conway"—(1847-85), a writer now almost forgotten, but whose works were in their time much read and appreciated. One of them—a novel called *A Family Affair*, with a well-woven and not improbable plot—is not easy to forget. The two bachelor brothers, Horace and Herbert, with their passion for detail and careful housekeeping, are delightful characters. Mr. Fergus was born and died at Bristol. He chose his pseudonym from the training-ship *Conway*, on which he was a scholar for two years, having, like a good many other dreamy studious youths, a strong desire of becoming a naval officer.

The walls of THE SOUTH TRANSEPT are covered with tablets, but the bulk of them are without personal or historical interest, although a word must be spared for that of William Phillips, the brave verger who defended the cathedral from outrage during the riots of 1831, and that to the children of Mr. R.



Walwyn, which has some artistic merit. But three require more than a passing notice. The first, which is at the angle made by the transept with the nave, is to Samuel Morley, who was M.P. for Bristol for seventeen years, from 1868 to 1885. Morley's services, in parliament and out of parliament, to the cause of sane and steady progress are so well known that it is hardly necessary to do more than allude to them here, and to explain the reason why a Londoner born should be commemorated in Bristol Cathedral.

On the east wall of the transept is a tablet to the memory of Bishop Joseph Butler (1692-1752), the famous author of *The Analogy of Religion*, who presided over the See of Bristol from 1738 to 1750. It is quite impossible here to comment upon Butler's remarkable work, except to say that its remarkable character has never been denied even by those who object to its arguments and conclusions. John Stuart Mill and James Martineau utterly disagreed with it—Martineau declaring that it afforded "one of the most terrible persuasives to Atheism ever produced." Cardinal Newman, however, held an opposite opinion. Not very much is known of Butler's private life: as a bishop he appears to have been active and hospitable, but he was of a calm temperament—he disliked Wesley's heated enthusiasm, and warned him against the effect of the violent emotion which his sermons caused among his uneducated hearers. In an interview with the great preacher, Butler expressed his opinion that any claim to the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Spirit was "a horrid thing, a very horrid thing, sir."

He was eventually translated to the wealthy see of Durham, but survived the event for only two years.

The inscription on the tablet is by Southey, and is well worthy of perusal, but it is too long to transcribe. Butler's own views are perhaps best expressed in the quotation which he made from Origen, and which also appears on the memorial: "He who believes the Scriptures to have proceeded from Him who is the Author of Nature may well expect to find the same sort of difficulties in it as are found in the Constitution of Nature."

An interesting survival of the earliest building is the sculptured stone let into the east wall of the south transept. It represents Christ trampling on the devil, and is commonly known as "The Harrying of Hell." Its age is somewhat conjectural, but the opinion that it is of pre-Norman date rests on little besides its archaic style, which is sometimes found in work which is unquestionably no earlier than the XIIIth century.

Last, there is a tablet to Sir Jonathan Trelawney, Bart., Bishop of Bristol from 1685 to 1689. From Bristol he was translated to Exeter and thence to Winchester. Trelawney was one of the famous "Seven Bishops" of 1688, but it is not correct that he signed the invitation to William of Orange. It is also rather doubtful if the story is true that, on the news that he was in danger, all Cornwall was ready to rise. Readers of Macaulay will remember the song which the Cornishmen are said to have roared at their meetings:

And shall Trelawney die? And shall Trelawney die?  
Then thirty thousand Cornish boys will know the reason why.

Sir Jonathan was otherwise not a very remarkable



feature in our history. He was a vigorous bishop and a high-churchman, as was to be expected of a Trelawney of Cornwall, but not distinguished for pure religion or learning, and he seems in private life to have been a somewhat harsh and stern parent, if the story be true that he forced his daughter to marry a man whom she disliked, and who was disfigured with the scars of smallpox.

There is in a case near by a specimen of Sir Jonathan's autograph signature: "Jona Bristol." He is often quite wrongly called "Sir John," even by Macaulay, who certainly should not have been mistaken upon such a point. With it is the signature of Bishop Butler, "Jo Bristol," and that of Thomas Chatterton, father of the ill-fated boy poet.<sup>1</sup> There is also the autograph of Dr. George Owen, physician to Henry VIII., Edward VI. and Mary I., and one of the earliest members of the College of Physicians. Owen seems to have been one of the ablest practitioners in an age when medical science was in a very ill-developed condition. He was in attendance upon Henry VIII. in his last days, and was a witness to the will of the king, who left him a legacy of £100.

THE NEWTON CHAPEL opens from the east side of the south transept. It is a small building, not especially remarkable in itself, but noteworthy as being in a very late Decorated style verging on Perpendicular, and also on account of the construction, which shows that it was an afterthought imposed upon the transept. The east window is a fine specimen of its class, and the lack of ball-flower ornament

<sup>1</sup> See page 81.



which is found in the choir indicates that it is also of later date.

The chapel derives its name from that of the family whose tombs are within it. On the east side is a monument of grey marble with a curious canopy which is ascribed to Sir Richard Newton Craddock, Justice of the Common Pleas, who died in 1444. This is, however, quite impossible. In the first place, it is nearly certain that Sir Richard was buried at Yatton in Somersetshire. In that village church there is a tomb of a xvth-century judge which is considered to be his. This in Bristol Cathedral has no xvth-century characteristics. If Sir Richard were really buried here, his monument was restored at a later period. It is, however, more probable that this is the tomb of a grandson who died about 1500. It was defaced during the Civil War and restored in 1748 by Mrs. Archer, sister to Sir Michael Newton of Barr's Court, Gloucestershire, a descendant of the judge.

On the south side of the chapel is the monument of Sir Henry Newton of Barr's Court, who died in 1599, his wife Katharine, a daughter of Sir Thomas Paston of Norfolk, and their six children. The effigies of Sir Henry and Lady Newton occupy the table, while the portraits of the children are in relief upon the face of the monument—the two sons to the left, the four daughters on the right. The monument is a good specimen of its class, decidedly more artistic than the adjoining one of Sir John Newton (died 1661), which is much more pretentious than beautiful, the twisted columns being clumsy and unsightly, though the erection as a whole is imposing. Sir John is

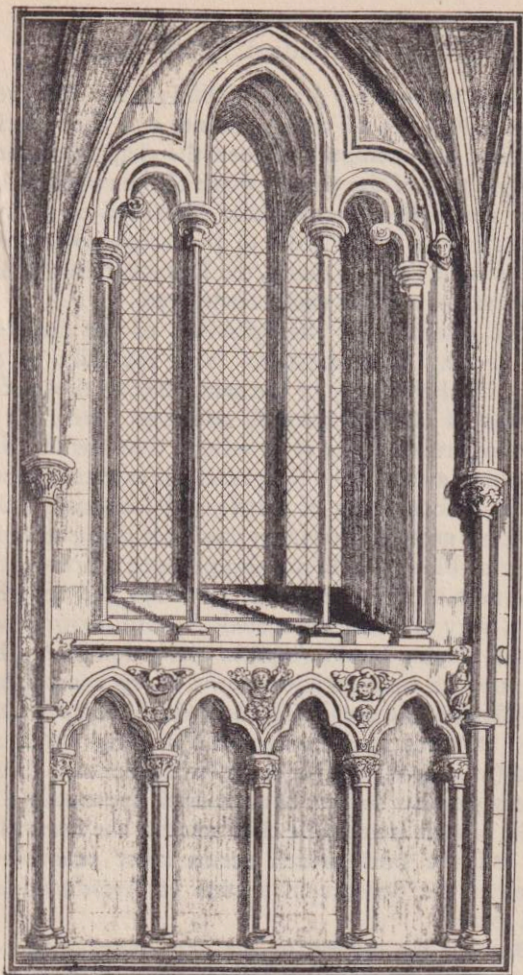
represented in armour, truncheon in hand, as befitted a man who fought in the Great Civil War and earned the reputation of being "of great courage, and the greatest loyalty to his prince: an honour to his country."

There is in the Newton Chapel a tablet to the memory of Bishop Robert Gray (1827-34), whose principal title to fame or notoriety is that he voted against the Reform Bill of 1831 and, in consequence, had a somewhat narrow escape from being murdered by the small gang of brigands who made the rejection of the Bill an excuse for riot and arson. He was otherwise a thoroughly upright man, and the tablet was erected by members of all classes in Bristol as a testimony of respect.

THE ELDER LADY CHAPEL. Far more interesting from the architectural view-point is the Elder Lady Chapel, which opens from the east side of the north transept. Its name is derived from the fact that the altar of the Virgin was removed from this chapel to the east end of the church when the choir had been rebuilt by Abbot Knowle. It seems most probable that it was in the main built by Abbot David (1216-34), but it may have been planned by a predecessor, perhaps John (1186-1216). However this may be, it was remodelled to some extent at a later period, for the roof has Decorated characteristics, and the fine east window is also of that school of architecture.

The chapel was originally detached from the church, but was thrown into it when the choir was rebuilt by Abbot Knowle. Originally it seems to have consisted of four bays, each of which had a fine triplet of lancets





EARLY ENGLISH ARCADING AND THREE-LIGHT WINDOW OF THE  
ELDER LADY CHAPEL OF BRISTOL CATHEDRAL

The lower spandrels are filled with sculptured foliage and human  
heads.



standing upon a very graceful blind arcade. The arches of the latter are of trefoil outline, and the spandrels enriched with sculpture. When the chapel became an integral part of the church three of the southern bays were remodelled, the windows shortened or built up, and archways cut in order to give access to the choir. At the same time, no doubt, the Decorated east window was inserted and the vault constructed.

The sculpture in the spandrels of the arcades is well worthy of examination, more especially as they are, probably, nearly of the same date as those of the capitals of Wells Cathedral, and may have been the work of artists of the same school. One has the time-honoured satire of the fox preaching to geese; another has a curious series of spirals and foliations with at the top a goat (?) carrying a slain hare slung on a pole, while he blows a note of triumph upon a horn. At the bottom is a bird with outspread wings and head bent back, very gracefully executed. A third shows, above, a faun playing his Pan's pipes and accompanied by a ram upon a violin, while below a sheep appears to be frolicking to the music. The one which seems to attract most attention is a sculpture of a man fighting a huge bird (or dragon) with a spear, while beneath there is a very peculiar subject of an animal, apparently a fox, and a bird. It is not quite clear whether the fox is carrying off the bird—which seems most probable—or whether the two are in a state of Arcadian felicity and peace.

Beneath the eastern of the two arches which give access to the choir is the Perpendicular table-tomb of Maurice III. Fitzhardinge, ninth Baron of Berkeley,

and his mother, Margaret Mortimer, wife of Thomas III., the eighth baron. Thomas III. was the nominal custodian of Edward II. at the time of the hapless monarch's murder, but he was certainly not then resident at Berkeley, and may, on the whole, be acquitted of anything more than a slight and passive share in the crime. Maurice III. was the hot-headed young baron who must needs attempt to distinguish himself at Poitiers by riding at headlong speed after the fleeing French, until a squire from Picardy named Jean de Helennes turned back out of the rout, severely wounded the rash young Englishman, and took him prisoner. He treated him with much kindness and courtesy, as well he might, since he could count upon a noble ransom. Froissart says that Fitzhardinge paid 6000 nobles, or £2000 of the day—a relatively enormous sum, though it is true that the lords of Berkeley were very wealthy.

Maurice perhaps never really recovered from the effects of the wounds inflicted upon him by de Helennes; he lived for twelve years after his disastrous adventure at Poitiers, but was still a comparatively young man when he died. The tomb has two effigies, one of them unquestionably his, but it is not clear, despite the modern inscription, that the female figure is that of the eighth Lady Fitzhardinge of Berkeley. It is more likely that it represents Lord Maurice's wife, Elizabeth le Despenser, who is known to have been interred beside him. In that case the tomb encloses the remains of three lords and ladies of Berkeley. Maurice's head rests upon a mitre—a somewhat curious feature which may be intended to

symbolise the connection of the family with the Abbey of Bristol.

The glass of the windows is modern and not especially interesting; in fact some of it is of the sort of carpet-pattern which spoils so many of the beautiful openings at Hereford.

THE CHOIR. The special feature of the choir is that which was copied by Street in the modern nave. The aisles are carried up to the height of the central member, and the usual organisation of main arcade, triforium and clerestory does not exist. In their place there is a single lofty arcade, as in the nave of Tewkesbury Abbey Church, and light is given by large windows in the walls of the aisles. To counteract the lateral thrust upon the outer walls it was necessary to employ a device equivalent to internal buttresses. This was furnished by throwing lateral arches from piers to pilasters; but Abbot Knowle was not satisfied, and introduced a decorative feature which I cannot recollect having seen anywhere else in England. From the centre of the transom of each arch springs a group of groining ribs. Disparaging remarks have been made regarding this device—it has been called mere “carpentry in stone”—but that the effect is remarkable and unusual is not to be denied.

The piers are not grouped shafts, but solid moulded columns, the mouldings being carried up to form the arches. On the north and south sides of the piers are groups of three slender shafts, from which spring the ribs of the vaulting of both the choir proper and the aisles. The foliage-capitals of the shaft groups are of great beauty and delicacy and the contour of the arches



cannot be surpassed. The simple outline of the splendid lierne vault is also admirable, and the many sculptured bosses are full of interest.

The lateral retaining arches or internal flying buttresses are quite excellent as conceptions and display a happy combination of strength and lightness. The spandrels are open, as in the case of the inverted arches at Wells, but at Bristol the apertures are much more successful than the large circular ones, without shadow or mystery, which are the defect of the famous devices in the cathedral of the Springs. They are approximately pear-shaped trefoils and are surrounded by a deep moulding, a device which obviates the rather staring effect given by the bull's-eye apertures of Wells.

The view athwart the choir from one of the aisles is certainly one of much charm, and the observer who has seen a number of English cathedrals will probably reach the conclusion that the choir of Bristol, though modest in dimensions, is by no means the lowest in interest and beauty. The arcades are quite admirable, the vault is as good as anything of its class in the country, while the lateral arches furnish a feature of remarkable interest.

The transoms or pediments of the arches are sparingly but effectively enriched with sculpture. At each end and in the centre are heads from which spring the groins of the vault, and in the spaces between them are flowers in relief. Whatever opinion be passed upon these devices of Abbot Knowle, they have fulfilled their purpose and have endured for six centuries with little or no need of repair.

THE VANISHED PULPITUM. When the church of the

Augustinian abbey was elevated to the rank of a cathedral by Henry VIII., a fine pulpitum was erected to separate the nave from the choir. It seems, judging from the drawings which survive, to have been an admirable and very gorgeous example of Tudor Perpendicular artistry: the doorway, although showing the decadence of the school rather than its florescence, was by no means lacking in dignity and grace, while the spandrels and pediment were marvels of delicate, if rather stiff and mechanical sculpture. It is painful to state that this fine work of art, after surviving the vandalism of Elizabeth's commissioners and the rude violence of Puritan soldiers, was demolished at the restoration of 1860, so that only a few fractions of it survive preserved in the cloister.

The choir was at the same time completely enclosed by longitudinal screens, of which the greater part has shared the fate of the pulpitum. Only the easternmost portion on the south side remains. It is a rather mechanical composition as a whole, consisting merely of tiers and bays of shallow blind arcading in Tudor style, but the sculpture of the uppermost tier and the cornice is remarkably delicate and lovely, having the appearance of lacework in stone; though at the same time it may be admitted that the detail is almost too minute to be impressive, so that there is a feeling of dainty prettiness rather than the dignified beauty which would be more appropriate to a cathedral.

**THE STALLS AND MISERERES.** The stalls were originally the work of Abbot Elyot (1515-26), but were renewed and restored by the first bishop, Paul Bush (1542-54). They are upon the whole pleasing, but seem

to suffer from the characteristic observed above in the side screen of the choir—that of being too minute in detail and too mechanically pretty in design. The misereres were in 1895 reduced in number, some of the subjects being deemed objectionable in a church: these were removed to a more fitting home in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London.<sup>1</sup> Several of them clearly illustrate the famous late mediæval history of Reynard the Fox, and are accordingly arranged in their proper order. Another represents the old sardonic theme of the fox preaching to geese—but there are two foxes in one pulpit. Doubtless the carving had some special significance which is now inexplicable. The most ludicrous shows a fight between a man riding a pig and a woman astride of a turkey: they are belabouring one another vigorously with besoms!

THE ORGAN was built by René (Renatus) Harris about 1685, but has been repeatedly enlarged and reconstructed. It stood originally upon the Tudor pulpitum, but in 1860 was reconstructed and re-erected on the north side of the choir, so that it does not obstruct the vista from west to east.

MONUMENTS OF THE CHOIR AISLES. The most remarkable of these monuments are the beautiful star-

<sup>1</sup> Concerning the subjects of the misereres or misericords of Westminster Abbey, Professor Westmacott wrote in 1866: "It is difficult to understand how the representation of such coarse buffoonery, and even of the most scandalous subjects, could be permitted by those, usually ecclesiastics of high position, who controlled church decoration; and it is more surprising that it should be found at a time when the most ardent admirers of mediævalism, in all its forms, insist that the most exemplary religious and pious impulse influenced and directed all art."



shaped recess-tombs designed or inspired by Abbot Knowle. Outside Bristol these beautiful examples of

Decorated Gothic art are found only at St. David's. Their special feature is that the band of sculpture which envelops the tomb-arch consists of six unequal convex sections which by their union form an irregular star.

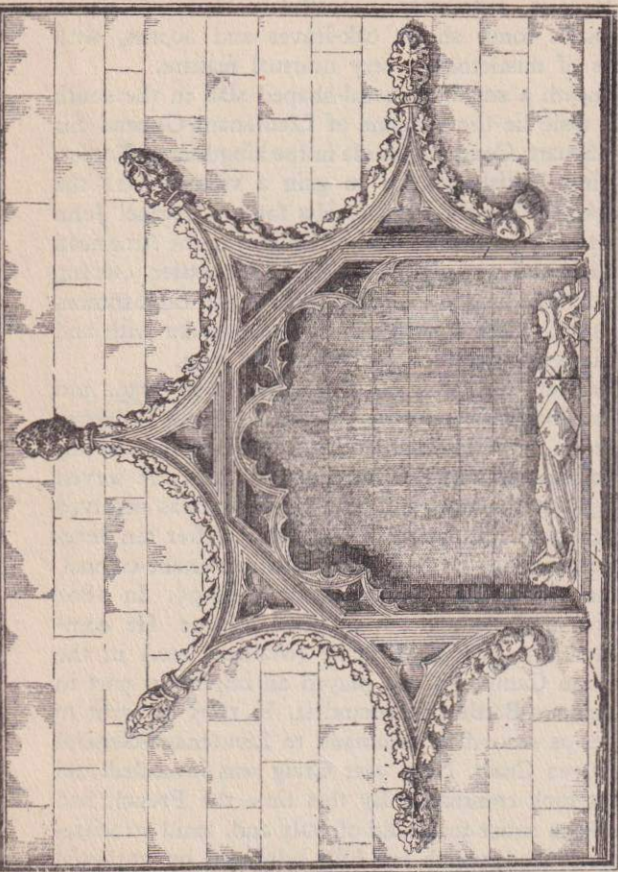


EFFIGY OF THOMAS II.,  
LORD OF BERKELEY

In the South Choir Aisle of Bristol Cathedral.

In the south choir aisle between the Newton Chapel and the sacristy there are two of these beautiful recess-tombs. The first, nearer to the Newton Chapel, is attributed to Thomas II., Lord of Berkeley (1220-43). The effigy is a fine one and is highly interesting as being clad in full war armour, with the haqueton or acton, a heavily-quilted coat, beneath the long tunic of chain-mail. The coming of plate panoply is foreshadowed by the poleyns or knee-pieces. The head rests upon a pillow supported by mutilated figures of angels.

Next to this tomb, on the east side of it, is the sepulchre assigned to Maurice II. (or III.), Lord of Berkeley, who died in 1281. The effigy is very similar to that of Thomas and the armour shows very little advance. The sculpture of the stellate enveloping of both



A STAR-SHAPED TOMB RECESS IN THE SOUTH CHOIR AISLE OF BRISTOL CATHEDRAL  
The stellate form is a notable feature of the cathedral. The effigy is probably that of  
Thomas II., Lord of Berkeley.



recesses is extremely beautiful. That of Baron Thomas's tomb shows oak-leaves and acorns, with sprigs of mistletoe—a very unusual feature.

Beneath a small diamond-shaped slab in the south choir aisle lie the remains of Lieutenant-General Sir John Stuart, Count of Maida in the kingdom of Naples, the first British general to gain a victory over the armies of Imperial France. His father, Colonel John Stuart, was Superintendent of Indians in the American colonies, and was almost an American settler, owning considerable landed property. Like many Englishmen, and unlike most Americans, he was popular with and exercised great influence over the red men.

His son John was born in Georgia in 1759, and saw his first service in the War of American Independence in 1778. He was a Westminster boy, and his commission was in the 3rd Foot Guards. He served throughout the war, and as a subaltern was involved in the fatal capitulation of Yorktown. After ten years of peace service he took part, as a lieutenant-colonel, in the disastrous campaigns of 1792-95. In 1801 he saw, at last, a gleam of good fortune. He commanded the Foreign Brigade (Maltese, etc.) in the Egyptian Campaign and played an important part in the famous Battle of Alexandria. In 1805 he went to Naples as second in command to Lieutenant-General Sir James Craig. Next year Craig was invalided and Stuart took command. By this time the French had seized the entire mainland of Italy and, amid atrocities of every kind, which are fully admitted by impartial French eye-witnesses, were endeavouring to coerce the stubborn peasantry of the extreme south. The little



British army was holding Sicily, and, as has been often observed, Napoleon's power ended at low-water mark.

For four years Stuart maintained himself in Sicily against French attacks from without and the intrigues of the disreputable Neapolitan Court from within. He was not a great general—indeed he was nothing more than a brilliant brigade-leader; he was also difficult-tempered and vain, and—what is rare among Englishmen—a poser. He could form bold and wise plans, but was rather apt to leave their execution to his subordinates. Incidentally he was cursed with a very troublesome naval colleague—the tiresome, boastful Sidney Smith, whose indisputable skill and bravery were mingled with a levity and theatricality truly Gascon. Under these conditions Stuart had the good fortune to command the first British force which gained a resounding success over the French.

On July 1, 1806, Stuart landed in the Bay of Sta. Eufemia in Calabria with about 5,000 men, intending to deal what Feldmarschall Blücher would have called a hussar-stroke at the French force in Southern Italy, which consisted of the division of Lieutenant-General Reynier. Reynier was a general of average merit but much more self-confidence, and so soon as he knew that the British had landed, he came down to drive them into the sea. He was quite certain that he would make short work of them, and his soldiers, demoralised by their easy successes over Austrians, Prussians and Italians, were even more confident than their general. Excuse may be found for them, for they were ignorant of what they had to encounter. Whereas Reynier had

had experience of British troops at Alexandria, and can only be blamed for his foolish remarks about them.

On July 4th Stuart with his little army was near Maida, and the gasconading French general proceeded to carry out his threats. Stuart had about 5200 men all told, in four small brigades under Colonels Kempt, Acland, Cole and Oswald—also eleven very light guns. Against him Reynier brought 6400, including a regiment of cavalry, of which the British had none, and sixteen much more powerful guns. He was so completely dominated by ignorant contempt that he wrote to the Emperor that 9000 Frenchmen could easily beat 30,000 Englishmen. How he formed that impression is astonishing.

Be that as it may, he attacked the British force. Stuart did not superintend the action well, and it was practically conducted by the brigadiers. It lasted just over two hours, and by the end of that time the French were streaming away from the field in utter disorder, having lost nearly 2500 men out of 6400, while the British casualties counted 377! That was all. The native French and Swiss fought gallantly, but their obsolete tactics and poor fire-training rendered them quite helpless against the two-deep English lines, with the highly drilled redcoats loading and firing with beautiful regularity. One of the most dramatic episodes of the day was the encounter, front to front, of Kempt's light detachment, 800 men, in two-deep line, and the French 1st Léger, nearly twice as strong. As Kempt moved forward under the blazing Italian sun, he saw that his men were panting beneath the weight of their knapsacks and greatcoats, and halted them so that



they might "dump" these useless encumbrances. So the red line came to a stand just as the two columns of the 1st Léger came storming forward. Some Italians who were spectators were horrified. Said one of them: "We sweated cold, for we thought that the English were going to run." So did the 1st Léger, who yelled "Vive l'Empereur," and came on at the double—but the English, relieved of their burdens, were ready and steady. At a hundred yards' distance they fired a devastating volley, and hardly had the gallant Frenchmen covered thirty yards more when a second storm of lead swept through their dense ranks. They wavered, but General Compère shouted to them to charge with their bayonets. They rushed on, led by their gallant general, who, between rage and pain, for two British bullets had struck him, was swearing "like seven devils." He actually rode in among the light infantry, followed by a few brave men, but that was all, for at thirty yards' range Kempt's soldiers fired a third terrific volley which sent the 1st Léger running for dear life. After them went the redcoats, using their bayonets with fierce vigour, for, as Mr. Fortescue says, "Englishmen were not afraid of killing a foe in those days." On that particular day they killed or wounded more than 800, losing themselves rather less than fifty.

Sir John Stuart lived for some nine years after the Battle of Maida, dying at Clifton in 1815. It may be admitted that he was not a remarkable general, and that his greatest success was won for him by the admirable discipline and fire-training of his men, but he deserved his title of "Count of Maida" quite as well as scores of English and foreign leaders before and



afterwards, and, in any case, this little diamond-shaped stone recalls the memory of the first encounter between England's "contemptible little army" of 1806 and the supposedly irresistible troops of Napoleon—an encounter which taught the latter a wholesome lesson.

The monuments in THE NORTH CHOIR AISLE are of less interest. The most notable is the canopied tomb of Bishop Bush, with one of those gruesome "cadaver" effigies which were so much a feature of that period.

THE SACRISTY. Opening out of the south choir aisle to the eastward of Maurice de Berkeley's tomb is the small chamber which was once the monastic sacristy. The entrance is by a beautiful Decorated doorway flanked by blind arches. The doorway is crowned by an elaborated ogee gable, the flanking recesses having right-sided gables; and the three members are separated by high pinnaced pilasters. The heads of the flanking arches are trefoliated, that of the central arch being enriched with three small trefoliations instead of one, giving it a slightly fantastic aspect. Above the doorway are four heraldic shields displaying the arms of the Fitzhardinges of Berkeley.

The interior of the chamber bears ample evidence of the purpose for which it was designed. In the walls are still the aumbries which held the monastic plate, and a long slender recess wherein was kept the abbatial crosier. The roof is remarkable: it is an openwork one of stone, with gracefully-curving groins springing from corbels, and meeting in large bosses enriched with sculptured foliage of the most beautiful description. There is no filling: the groins are completely detached.

The roof is in fact truly a work of carpentry in stone, but of so admirable and graceful a character that such criticism becomes the highest eulogy.

In the south wall are three very beautiful and elaborate ogee recesses flanked by pinnaced pilasters and separated by niches. The spandrels and finials are beautiful examples of the naturalistic sculpture of foliage which is found in the stellate recesses, and seems to have been the special inspiration of Abbot Knowle. The easternmost recess has a peculiar interest, for it is a fireplace: and there is very little doubt that here was baked the sacramental wafer-bread.

THE BERKELEY CHAPEL. From this especially interesting building opens the Berkeley Chapel. It is thought originally to have been dedicated to the Virgin Mary, but it is also clear that it was double, with two altars and two piscinæ. It is a fine Decorated building hardly equal in absolute interest to the sacristy, but none the less possessing much beauty and, as regards its general design, bearing the stamp of the hand of that great artist, if average ecclesiastic, Abbot Knowle. The foliage capitals of the pilasters are to be compared with those in the choir: the bosses of the vault are also of great beauty. Of the two principal windows one has ball-flower ornamentation: the other one consisting of roses and quatrefoils alternately.

Between the chapel and the choir is a recess beneath which is a table-tomb. On its side are five armorial shields: (1) Fitzhardinge (=Berkeley), (2) de Ferrars, (3) England, (4) de Quincy (Earl of Winchester), (5) Fitzhardinge. Above the range of shields is a moulding of horseshoes. The tomb is assigned to

Thomas II., Lord of Berkeley, who died in 1321, but Dugdale says that it was built for Baron Thomas's wife Joan at the time of her death in 1309. The arms of de Ferrars and de Quincy commemorate the fact that the Fitzhardinges were connected by marriage with both families.

THE LADY CHAPEL is almost a part of the choir, being separated from it only by the modern reredos. It shows the same characteristics, and is in the same admirable Decorated style. It consists of two bays, each with a two-stage window of not the most satisfying contour, while at the east end is one of the loveliest Jesse windows in England. Beneath three of the lateral windows are stellate tomb-recesses, while below the fourth are the beautiful, but much-restored, sedilia. The tombs on the north side are those of Abbots Hunt and Newbury, while that on the south holds the remains of Abbot Newland.

The reredos is also in great part a restoration, but its characteristics show that it was originally the work of Abbot Knowle, for the resemblance to the entrance to the sacristy is too close to be accidental. It has three ogee openings of extreme richness and beauty, separated by two tall narrow niches which are by no means so pleasing. Still, the general effect is very impressive. The graceful arcade is crowned by a cornice or cresting apparently of Perpendicular design—of course restored. It is pleasing, but rather too minute and "finicking" in its detail.

Above this thoroughly beautiful composition is the splendid "Jesse" window, which strikes the eye immediately the cathedral is entered. In outline it is



not perfectly satisfactory, being perhaps a little too broad for its height. With that exception it is difficult to find fault with it. The tracery is delicious: indeed it has no rivals in England except that of the west window of York and the east window of Carlisle. Mr. Massé suggests that the east windows of Carlisle and Bristol were designed by the same artist, since both houses were Augustinian. It is possible. What is certain is that the two have a strong resemblance to one another. The window of Bristol's Lady Chapel is not quite upon a level with the wonderful opening at the east end of the cathedral of Carlisle, but it is none the less a work of the rarest beauty.

The glass in the lower portion of the window is for the most part modern, depicting the subjects usual in a Jesse window—the royal descent of Jesus, culminating in the Crucifixion and the Resurrection. The intricate tracery of the upper part is filled with early xivth-century glass showing seventeen shields of arms, with the royal escutcheon of England, previous to the time of Edward III., at the head; with it are the blazons of many of those great baronial houses which were the pride of mediæval England—Fitzhardinge of Berkeley, Despenser, Basset, Beauchamp, Mowbray, de Bohun, de Clare, Montacute and de Warrenne. The effect of the whole is very magnificent, and the splendid window forms a most fitting terminal of the fine vista of Bristol Cathedral.

THE CHAPTER-HOUSE. Upon the whole the most interesting and, in some sense, the most beautiful feature of the cathedral is the Norman chapter-house. It has been restored, but still affords a highly impressive

picture of Late Norman art at its best. It opens from the east side of the now almost-vanished cloister, and the vestibule is perhaps more impressive and truly beautiful than the chapter-house itself. It has a central way and two aisles, each of two bays, so that on the side of the cloister it shows three beautiful Late Norman archways springing from grouped piers. The mouldings of the arches are good; otherwise ornament has been very sparingly applied, with the result that the feeling is one of great dignity and restraint. On a small scale the arcades remind one of those in the nave of St. David's Cathedral. An additional point of interest is that here appears a very early example of the Transitional style, for either by accident or design the arches from west to east are slightly pointed.

The chapter-house itself is rectangular in plan, like all Norman rooms of its class. It is forty-two feet long and twenty-five broad, and consists of two bays each covered by a quadripartite groined vault. The west wall has three stages, the lowermost having a doorway flanked by double windows. The second and third stages are covered with blind interlaced arcading, and the climbing effect of this in the third round-headed stage is curious. The sides have plain blank arcading in the lowest stage, very beautiful interlaced arcading in the second and lattice-work moulding in the third. In one bay the upper half of the lunette has zig-zag moulding, but this device, to avoid monotony, was evidently not deemed successful, and was abandoned in the others.

THE GATEWAY AND MONASTIC BUILDINGS. The domestic buildings of the monastery have for the

most part disappeared. The cloister is mainly a restoration, and considerable rebuilding was still in progress in the autumn of 1924. The most notable feature is the very beautiful Early English doorway of the refectory, which, with its curiously-serrated inner arch, may have furnished a hint to Abbot Knowle for the design of the vestibule of the Berkeley Chapel.

The Great Gateway which forms so imposing a spectacle as the visitor approaches the west end of the cathedral is in the main a Perpendicular building, even the highly-elaborated Late Norman archways being, in all probability, a skilful Perpendicular restoration carried out in the most conscientious manner. The façade above the restored doorway is a fine and well-designed example of Perpendicular architecture, the oriel windows are especially fine, and the crowning parapet light and graceful, though the pinnacles might be better. Oddly enough, the Norman and Perpendicular work appear not to clash—a rather remarkable testimony to the skill and artistic sense of the builders.



## CHAPTER III

### ST. MARY REDCLIFFE, BRISTOL

**T**hough in point of ecclesiastical rank the cathedral of Bristol must take the highest place in the great seafaring city of the west, it is very difficult for the lover of beauty to refuse to concede the pre-eminence as a splendid and harmonious edifice to the church of St. Mary Redcliffe on the south or left bank of the Avon. In mere bulk it is not greatly inferior to the cathedral—it is, in fact, larger than several of the smaller English episcopal churches. It is a building of nearly perfect harmony in its architecture; it possesses a unique feature in its superb North Porch, and its now completed spire is one of the loftiest and most graceful in England.

St. Mary Redcliffe stands without the limits of the ancient walls of Bristol, and was not therefore one of the original churches of the city. Not only this, but despite its size and splendour, it was not until 1853 that it became a parish church, being until then merely a kind of annexe or chapel-of-ease to the parish of Bedminster. An interesting parallel is afforded by the world-famous church of the Divine Wisdom (Sancta Sophia) at Constantinople, which, though in the end it became the very Holy Place of the Roman Empire, was at first only one among many churches

of Constantinople—neither the cathedral (St. Eirene), nor the Imperial mausoleum (The Holy Apostles). St. Mary Redcliffe, almost the largest<sup>1</sup> and undoubtedly the finest of the non-episcopal churches of England, possessed for seven centuries more or less, including four hundred years of its architectural glory, not even the rank of a minor parochial place of worship.

The topographical portion of the title is explained by the situation. Though building and paving have hidden this feature from view, the beautiful structure stands on the crown of a low cliff of red sandstone, which was, no doubt, in the days when the foundations were laid, a prominent feature in the landscape. The date of the first church is not precisely known. There is no mention of it in the *Domesday Survey* of 1085, and it may be taken for granted that it did not then exist. Seventy-two years later there is mention of the Prebend of Bedminster-cum-Redcliffe. It is therefore probable that the earliest place of worship on the site was founded some time before 1157, but this must not be regarded as certain, since the fact that the Red Cliff was united to Bedminster does not quite prove that there was a church there. But that one existed before 1207 is certain, because in that year Robert de Berkeley granted a conduit to it, and between 1232 and 1246 it was being completely rebuilt.

Upon the whole the year 1157 is the earliest date for the first church of St. Mary Redcliffe, but the possibilities go back perhaps thirty or forty years before. While it is very doubtful it is not at all impossible that

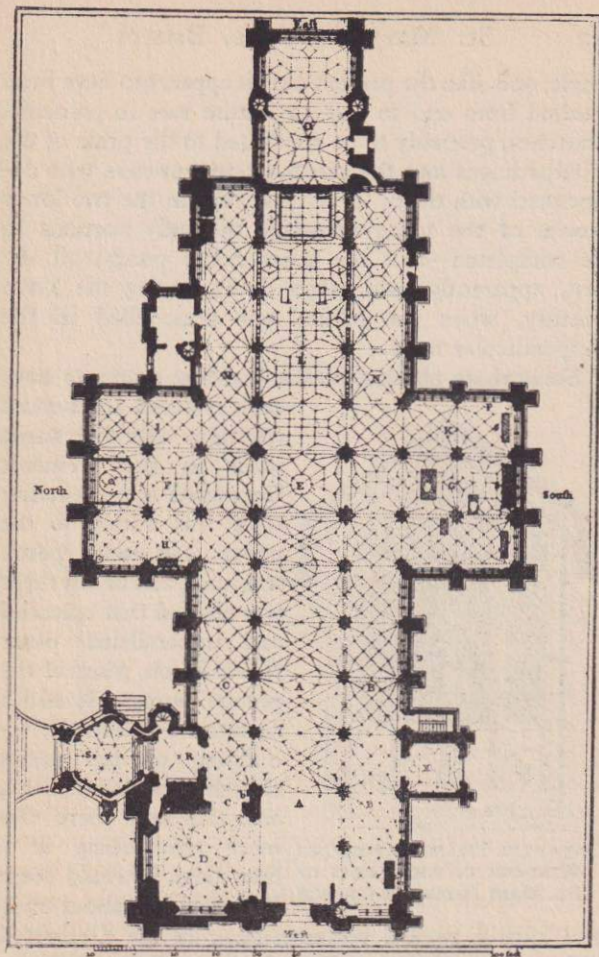
<sup>1</sup> The church of St. Nicholas at Great Yarmouth is slightly larger in area.



during the long period of peace which ended in 1135 a place of worship was built without the walls of Bristol. Between 1135 and 1154 such an operation would be somewhat improbable. It would seem that the most likely periods for the building of the first church on the Red Cliff by the Avon are (1) 1100-35 and (2) 1155-60. In default of certain evidence, the most probable candidate for the honour of the foundation is Robert I. Fitzhardinge, the first of his line to be Lord of Berkeley. It is known that to him Robert of Gloucester, when ruling the west for his half-sister, the Empress Maud, made a grant of the district of Redcliffe, and it was he who founded the house of Augustinian canons whose church is now the cathedral. Nothing is inherently more probable than that this very powerful and wealthy baron should construct a new place of worship upon his own particular demesne, and 1155 to 1160 would be a very reasonable period.

However this may be, the earliest church presently fell into decay, and was probably completely rebuilt between 1232 and 1246. The length of the period of building, together with the lavish grants of indulgences to all who subscribed to the work, indicate that the second church was an edifice of great size—probably not much smaller than the present stately structure, though it lacked the soaring spire and the incomparable outer North Porch. The style must have been Early English throughout, although no doubt much of the fabric of the first church was worked up into that of its successor. The Early English edifice possessed a north porch and a tower at the north-west



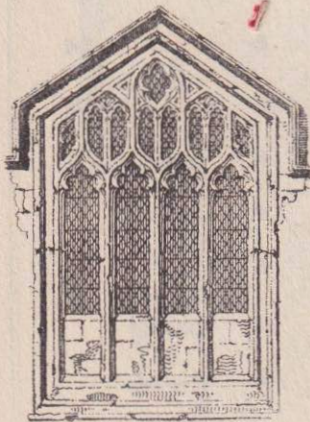


### PLAN OF THE CHURCH OF ST. MARY REDCLIFFE, BRISTOL

The remarkable arrangement of the vaulting in oblong compartments in choir and transepts is shown, as well as the variety of patterns devised by the mediæval architects.

angle, and, like the present one, it appears to have been vaulted from end to end—a feature rare in parochial churches, probably to be attributed to the pride of the Fitzhardinges and the merchant-adventurers who co-operated with them. Of it there remain the two lower stories of the tower—possibly the only portions to be completed—and the inner north porch; all the rest, apparently, was taken down during the xivth century, when the edifice was remodelled in the Perpendicular style.

Somewhere about 1300 the building seems to have



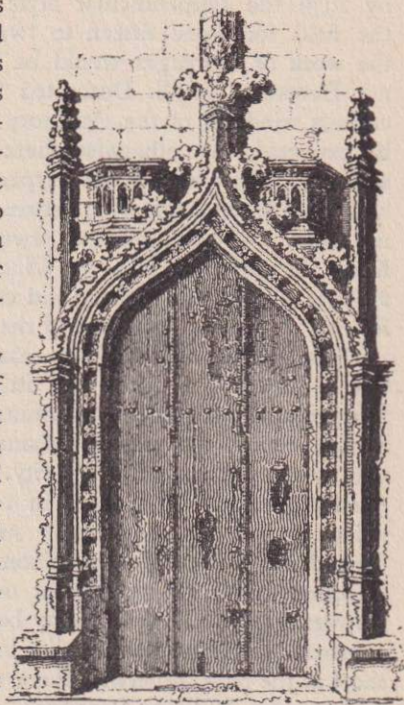
ONE OF THE TRIANGULAR-HEADED  
WINDOWS OF THE AISLES OF  
ST. MARY REDCLIFFE CHURCH

been restored and several additions were afterwards made in the prevalent Decorated style. Another story was added to the tower: the south porch was built, and finally there was erected that splendid and unparalleled outer North Porch, whereof the precise purpose is still a mystery. Further, the rebuilding of the entire church was commenced, and although there was

more remodelling at a later date, it would seem that between about 1320 and 1370 a general reconstruction in the Decorated style was carried out. This is the opinion of Canon Norris in his careful and elaborate description of St.

Mary Redcliffe.<sup>1</sup> He considers that the restorers left standing the Early English chancel and rebuilt the nave and transepts in the Decorated style. He instances the south transept as part of this restoration, stating his conviction that the style clearly proves so much, it being of a Decorated character passing into Perpendicular.

One might equally well call the style of the south transept Perpendicular with a certain Decorated feeling about the details: the general characteristics appear to be Perpendicular of a pronounced and fully developed type. But Canon Norris has perhaps made a mistake of detail



Ogee Doorway in the North Choir Aisle of St. Mary Redcliffe Church

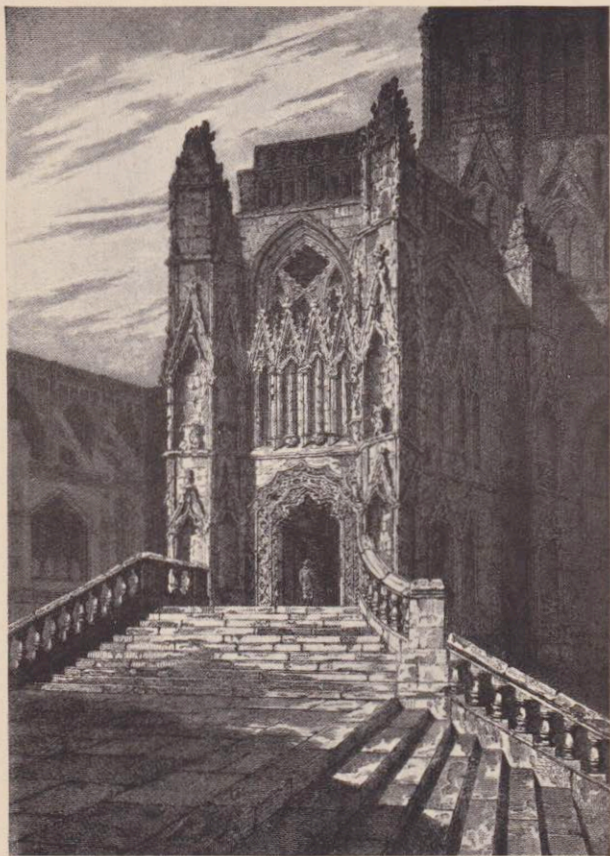
only, for there is the definite record in the Mayor's Calendar that in 1376 William Canynges the Elder

<sup>1</sup> *Bristol, Past and Present*, pp. 196-219.



built the body of Redcliffe Church from the cross aisles downward. The point which he misses is that by 1376 the Perpendicular style had been holding the field for some fifteen to twenty years, so that the work of Canynges would be Perpendicular, and not Decorated at all. Decorated feeling in the very curious windows of the clerestory is clear and might be expected, but otherwise there is nothing in the south transept which is not Perpendicular, and might have been built at any time between 1360 and 1420, if not later. The resemblance between the bays of St. Mary Redcliffe and those of Winchester Cathedral is striking, though the artistry and craftsmanship of the former are superior to those of the cathedral.

Upon the whole it seems reasonable to suppose that about the year 1300, or a little earlier, the transformation of the church was commenced by Simon de Burton, one of the great merchant princes of Bristol, who was thrice mayor of the city. Progress, however, must have been slow, since in 1337 work was still being carried out under the supervision of three "guardians," John Bohler, Thomas de Uphill and Geoffrey Fuller. If no disaster overtook the church between 1337 and 1376, it may be taken that the reconstruction of the Early English building had stopped short at the nave, otherwise there would have been no occasion for William Canynges to rebuild it in its entirety from the crossing to the west end. It is clear that the church of St. Mary Redcliffe as it exists is in the main a Perpendicular edifice, with a tower Early English and Decorated, and a unique Decorated North Porch—if porch it can be called.



THE SPLENDID NORTH PORCH OF THE CHURCH OF ST. MARY  
REDCLIFFE, BRISTOL

It is of the Decorated period, and is therefore of earlier date  
than the rest of the building.

*From an engraving of a drawing by F. Mackenzie dated 1812.*





## Canynges begins to "Edifie and Repayr" 65

To sum up the evidence, it would appear that a Norman church was succeeded by one in the Early English style. This was largely rebuilt or remodelled as a Decorated edifice under the direction of Simon de Burton and his successors until, in 1376, William



THE HEAD AND SHOULDERS OF WILLIAM CANYNGES  
THE YOUNGER

From the effigy in south transept of St. Mary Redcliffe Church.

Canynges I. began to rebuild it in the new Perpendicular style. Apparently this church suffered disaster of some kind about 1440, for next year William Canynges II., grandson of William Canynges I., became Mayor of Bristol for the first time, and began to "edifie, repayr cover and glaze the church of Redcliff which his

grandfather had founded in the days of Edward III." The word "founded" is notable, for Canynges I. certainly only remodelled an existing church. My explanation is that he and his helpers and successors so completely remodelled the building that it seemed to have been "founded." It is generally supposed that the younger Canynges rebuilt the church from end to end, but this is not quite clear; what is certain is that his work was very extensive, and beyond any doubt included the reconstruction of the nave. This was probably shattered beyond repair by the fall of the spire in 1445, so that rebuilding became necessary. William Worcester gives an indication of the date of completion, for he speaks of the tower vault as new in 1476. Canynges died in 1474, so in that case he was busied with the restoration of the church up to the day of his death.

The fall of the upper part of the spire in 1445 left it in a truncated condition until its reconstruction was completed in 1872.

William Canynges the Younger was a remarkable man, one of the foremost of those merchant princes who constituted the most important class of English society in the xvth century. Between 1441 and 1466 he was five times Mayor of Bristol, although this fell short of the record of his grandfather, who had occupied the chair for six terms of office. The younger Canynges was a busy overseas trader whose ventures extended to Prussia, Iceland and Finmark. He was evidently a man of European reputation, for at a time when the relations between England and Denmark were unfriendly, King Christian I. granted Canynges a special



licence to trade with Iceland, Finmark and Helgoland. Like most English merchants he was a steady supporter of the House of York, and in 1461 entertained the young King Edward IV. at his house in Redcliffe Street, parts of which still exist.

In the year after his last mayoralty he took holy orders and died as Dean of Westbury in 1474. He had been a widower since 1460, and his sons predeceased him. His brother Thomas, Lord Mayor of London in 1456-7, was more fortunate, and from him descended George Canning, the famous statesman, and Stratford Canning, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe. Canynges resembled the best of his fellows in being a liberal benefactor of educational and charitable institutions: besides his work at St. Mary Redcliffe, he is said to have rebuilt Westbury College, to which he made generous donations. Altogether William Canynges was a worthy member of a remarkable class.

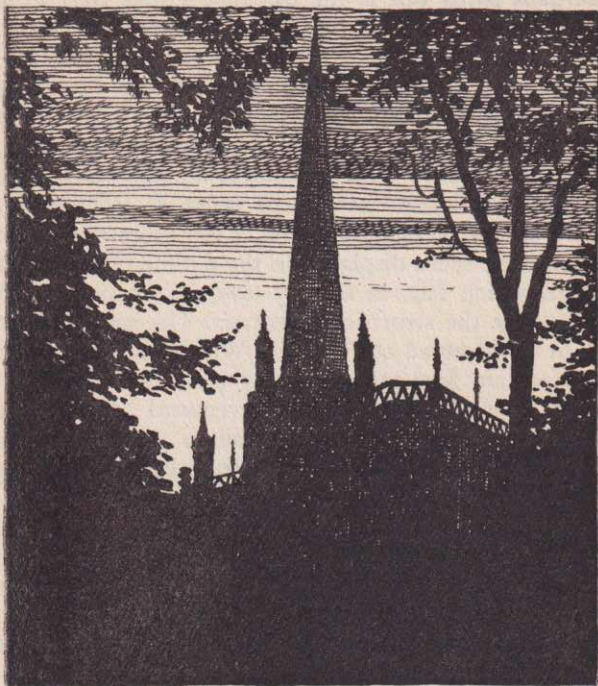
In general symmetry of design, in beauty and harmony of members, St. Mary Redcliffe has few rivals and, I think, no superior among English parish churches. Its surroundings act as a foil to its beauty, for it stands, splendid and peerless, among a maze of dingy streets and rather squalid-looking buildings. The approach from Temple Meads station is sordid, a very poor preparation for the æsthetic feast prepared for the beholder. Even more striking and delightful is the view when one is coming from the north. Traversing the narrow and not very pleasing streets of the old city, the visitor crosses Bristol Bridge and proceeds along a typically dull and dingy business thoroughfare, with little or nothing to attract the eye, until at the very



end there suddenly bursts upon the sight the graceful spire and porch of St. Mary Redcliffe. From the swell of a turf-clad knoll the majestic tower and spire, strong and stately as to the tower, supremely graceful as regards the spire, rise to their soaring height of 300 feet. Beside the tower the gorgeously beautiful North Porch displays its features to the eye, and beyond and to the left the body of the church extends in complete if slightly monotonous harmony—panelled walls, finely-contoured windows, graceful flying-buttresses and the delightful open parapet combining to make such a picture as is not often to be seen.

It would be absurd to say that St. Mary Redcliffe is absolutely satisfactory as an architectural composition: any discerning critic notices that it is rather too lofty in proportion to its breadth. This is clear to the eye when the visitor circumambulates the church and notes the narrowness of the four fronts. But the inherent grace of the great building is apparent; for combined strength and beauty the tower and spire have no superior anywhere; and the whole edifice, including even the lovely North Porch, rests securely upon them. Those who have travelled extensively in England, and have seen many of the beautiful Perpendicular churches which are the pride of the country, will probably feel that for beauty and bulk combined St. Mary Redcliffe easily holds the first place among English churches of non-episcopal rank; and that it far outshines a number of cathedrals both in England and on the Continent cannot be denied for a moment.

THE TOWER AND SPIRE. The noble spired tower is



THE CHURCH OF ST. MARY REDCLIFFE, BRISTOL

From the south, showing the graceful spire and the open  
parapets.

*From a drawing by Gordon Home.*

truly the grand feature of St. Mary Redcliffe. This is perhaps partly due to the fact that it rises clear from the ground, so that the slight awkwardness which sometimes shows in the spring of a tower from a roof-crossing is avoided; it is also placed to some advantage on the one-time cliff. Two distinct styles appear in the structure—Early English to the roof-level of the church, Decorated above—but the stages are combined with singular skill and there is no sense of incongruity: only one of pleasing variation. Even more striking is the artistic sense displayed in the outline of the upper stage, which falls in slightly towards the parapet so as to give the structure an entasis. The same feature is to be observed at Fairford.<sup>1</sup> Within the light open parapet are four strong-looking pinnacles, and from their midst the spire soars heavenward for 150 feet and more. The entire composition is very nearly perfect: it is actually better than Salisbury, because the contour of the tower is finer.

THE NORTH PORCH. Beneath the shadow of the tower on the northern side of the church stands the unique porch, as it is always styled, although it would seem that it must have been designed as a chapel with some special purpose, judging by its external entrance. It has been suggested that it may have had some connection with pilgrimages, but St. Mary Redcliffe has never possessed a pilgrimage shrine. Some colour was lent to the theory of a shrine through the existence of a very small chamber in the south-west face of the porch and two subsidiary doorways on opposite sides of the hexagon.

<sup>1</sup> See the volume on Gloucester and Tewkesbury in this series.







THE EFFIGY ON THE TOMB OF WILLIAM CANYNGES THE YOUNGER IN THE SOUTH  
TRANSEPT OF ST. MARY REDCLIFFE CHURCH, BRISTOL

Canynges was the merchant-prince of Bristol who was to a very great extent responsible for the rebuilding of this church on the magnificent lines one sees to-day.

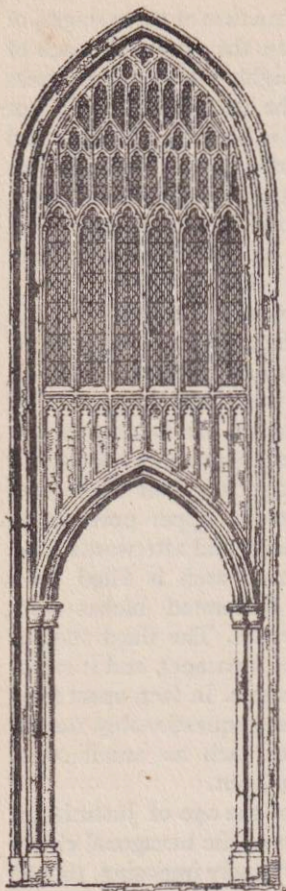
The porch is a hexagonal structure of three stages, of which the third is smaller than the others. At each of the four exposed angles is a highly-elaborated buttress crowned with a pinnacle. The latter features do not rise above the parapet, and it is possible that the third stage was erected as an afterthought. The buttresses are of two stages without inset, and each of these stages has four Decorated niches, now, of course, empty. In the angle between the porch and the nave is a turret which again does not top the principal structure.

The lowermost portion of the hexagon is plain except as regards the north face, which is pierced by the very beautiful if somewhat fantastic doorway. The outline of this doorway was plainly suggested by the artists who designed that of the sacristy of the cathedral, for, like it, there are here three contiguous trefoiliations. The second stage has four Decorated blank arcades with tracery in the upper portions, as if they were designed as windows and afterwards filled up. The lower portion of each arch is filled by a continuous range of four Decorated niches with extremely graceful gable-canopies. The third stage is so low as to be little more than a parapet, and it rather spoils the appearance of the whole. In fact, apart from the beauty of its details, this unquestionably unique porch is externally not quite such an architectural success as it might easily have been.

As in a Byzantine church of the age of Justinian, it excels in its interior: the effect of the hexagonal chamber with its vaulted roof is extremely imposing, though perhaps rather more splendid than religious.

Like the work of Bishop Booth at Hereford, the





A BAY OF THE NAVE OF  
ST. MARY REDCLIFFE CHURCH

great North Porch of St. Mary Redcliffe masks a much earlier building, which is unquestionably the surviving northern entrance to the Early English church. A careful study of the interior discloses some remnants of this earlier building. In the wall of the tower which abuts on the nave there is an Early English corbel with the outlines of vaulting ribs diverging from it, in contrast with the present vault which is much higher and springs from a Perpendicular pilaster imposed upon the corbel. This indication shows that the XIIIth-century church was much lower than its successor.

Entering the great church by the south porch, the first impressions gained are probably those of loftiness, general simplicity of design and extraordinary richness of colour and detail. From west to east the vista is

unbroken, and this adds to the effect produced by the towering arcades and the splendid vault, while the profusion of stained glass gives to St. Mary Redcliffe an appearance of richness and warmth possessed by few other churches in England.<sup>1</sup>

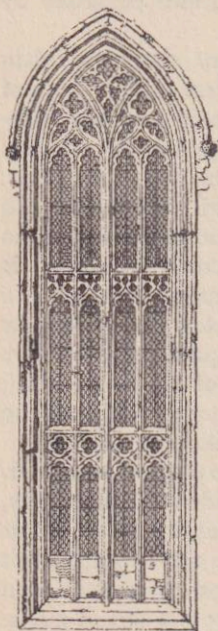
The plan of the edifice is very simple—a plain cross—and the architecture is not less so. The bays of the nave and choir are alike. Each is perfectly independent, separated from its neighbour by slender grouped piers from which spring the ribs of the vault. In each bay is a main archway, with above a tall and large clerestory window. There is no triforium and no organisation into regular architectural divisions. It cannot be said that there is a clerestory; each bay is a simple whole, with an archway below and a window above. These windows of the quasi-clerestory are excellent in contour; not so those of the aisles, which are decidedly stiff and stunted in outline and make no good appearance, whether from within or without.

THE NORTH TRANSEPT is similar to the nave and choir, but its southern fellow shows considerable differences, pointing, as has already been observed, to an earlier date of construction. The bays are quite independent as elsewhere, but there is a clear organisation into main arcade and clerestory. Besides, there is a sort of quasi-triforium as in the nave of Winchester. The bays are Perpendicular upon the whole, but yet have much of Decorated feeling. The windows are quite remarkable. Each is practically a window within a window, the inner portion having the appearance of a normal three-bayed opening with a frame of quatrefeuilles

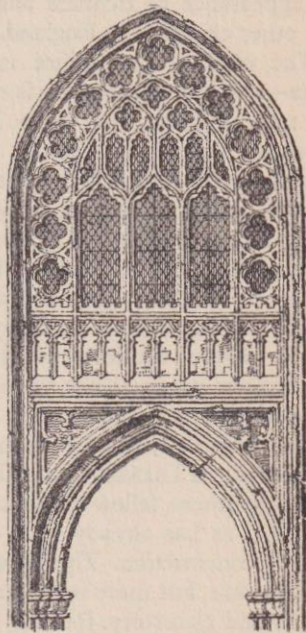
<sup>1</sup> This view forms the frontispiece of the book.—ED.



enveloping it. At the south end is a tall window which is yet more than half Decorated in appearance. Its great length is a disadvantage, and emphasises the narrow-



North and south ends of  
transepts



Clerestory window and arch of  
the south transept

#### WINDOWS OF ST. MARY REDCLIFFE CHURCH

ness which some critics will point out as the main architectural defect of the church. This is still more strongly accentuated by the very tall and narrow window at the end of the north transept.





G. H.  
RECUMBENT EFFIGY OF A KNIGHT IN COMPLETE CHAIN MAIL IN THE NORTH TRANSEPT  
OF ST. MARY REDCLIFFE CHURCH, BRISTOL

It is probably one of the Fitz-Hardinges of Berkeley, of the elder branch who died early in the thirteenth century.



The vault which covers the entire church, despite its comparatively small span, is one of the finest in England. The groining is not uniform in pattern: there are in all twelve distinct variations.<sup>1</sup> The roofs of the transepts are *generally held to excel those of the nave and choir*, but the average visitor will be content to view the vaulting as a whole, and to study the manifold sculpture of the bosses, upon which a truly marvellous fertility of fancy has set its mark. It is said that they number 1185 in all, and that no two are alike: certainly their number and variety are remarkable—perhaps unsurpassed.

At the east end is THE LADY CHAPEL, a Perpendicular building of two bays, partaking of the characteristics of the aisles, with windows of the same rather stiff and flattened contour. It was used during the uninspired period 1766–1850 as a school, but is now restored to its proper use. It is separated from the choir by a modern reredos of Caen stone with columns of red marble and mosaics by Salviati. Its best feature is the naturalistic sculpture of the capitals and gables. It is not out of keeping with the Perpendicular architecture about it, and has a fine effect with the vault of the Lady Chapel, glowing with gold and colour, behind it.

This glow of colour is indeed the most prominent feature of the church of St. Mary Redcliffe, and its guardians have done, and are doing, their best to make the great edifice a place of worship worthy of one of the Empire's greatest cities. In St. Mary Redcliffe one obtains some impression of the colourful days of old,

<sup>1</sup> See the plan on page 61, in which the form of the whole of the vaulting is shown.



when English churches had not been artistically blighted by the Reformation. The splendid vault glitters and glows in sunlight and in artificial light, while almost all the windows are filled with stained glass, chiefly modern it is true, but very largely of excellent design, and in any case completing the prevailing atmosphere of rich colour. If one were asked for a word which would best describe this stately church, that word would be *vitality*. The building is not cold or soulless; it may have defects—but it *lives*.

To describe the vast mass of modern glass would here be a work of supererogation, especially as its interest is largely centred in local and civic associations. A certain amount of the ancient stained glass survives in the windows of the north aisle, and in the quatrefoils of those in the south transept; some more is collected in two windows in the lower belfry.

**THE FONTS.** There are no fewer than three fonts, of which the most ancient may date from the XIIIth century; it has an octagonal basin with Early English arcading. Another is in the Lady Chapel. The third, an elaborate modern object rather ornate than pleasing, stands near the west end. It is not without artistic merit, but suffers from the not uncommon defect of being in no particular style.

**THE TOMBS AND MONUMENTS.** In the south aisle are three stellate recess-tombs of the same general type as those of the cathedral—a fact which, if it does not prove that the lower walls of the church are of the XIVth century or earlier, certainly indicates that the monuments of the former edifices were incorporated in the existing structure. Two of the effigies—a man

and a woman — represent William Canynges the Younger and his wife. Canynges is attired in his mayoral robes, while Mistress Canynges wears the unassuming but probably rich attire of a citizen's wife with coiffed hair and head-dress. The third effigy is that of John Lamington, Vicar of St. Mary Redcliffe, who died in 1393; it is later than the stellate recess, and has no direct connection with it.

Of greater interest is the effigy of a mailed knight in the north transept, which is said very doubtfully to be that of Robert Fitzhardinge, Lord of Berkeley, the founder of the Early English church. The identification is very doubtful because Baron Robert was certainly buried in the cathedral, but his remains may have been transferred. The effigy is certainly of the early XIIIth century, as is shown by the fashion of the armour: and, equally certainly, it is a fine example of its class, the workmanship being full of vigour.

In the south transept is the table-tomb with a fine effigy of the younger William Canynges. The epitaph calls him the richest merchant in Bristol, and strangely enough there is appended to it a list of his ships, nine in number, headed by the *Mary and John* of 900 tons, the *Mary Redclift* (sic) of 500, and the *Mary Canings* of 400, with six smaller ones, the total tonnage being 2672, and the strength of the crews 800! It is possible that there may be some error in those figures as regards the tonnage: a ship of 900 tons seems impossible for that age; in 1588 outside the Royal Navy there was no ship in England of over 500 tons. It may be that VIII was an error for III; even so the figure is astonishing. Very possibly, however, the



Bristolean system of measurement accounts for these apparently high displacements, but Canynges may have had ships built abroad.

On the tomb is the effigy of Canynges in his vestments as Dean of the College of Westbury. The great merchant-prince's face is an interesting one, high-featured and refined, and of a peculiar and distinctive type.

In the north choir aisle are the beautiful canopied tombs (in reality a single duplex monument) of Philip and Thomas Mede, two more of the xvth-century magnates of Bristol—Philip following Canynges as mayor in 1458, while Thomas held the office three times. The table of the latter's tomb supports the fine effigies of himself and his wife. That of Philip has a curious brass showing him kneeling in prayer with two female figures, clearly his wife and daughter. He is in full armour with an emblazoned tabard or surcoat over his panoply, and his wife wears a long mantle embroidered with heraldic animals.

There are a number of early sepulchral slabs in the church, some of which appear to date to the xiii<sup>th</sup> century, and besides these there are several brasses, of which the finest and most elaborate is that of John and Joan Jay in the chancel. Master Jay, a wealthy Bristol merchant, died in 1480; his wife was the sister of the antiquary William Worcester. The brass is set in a black marble slab: it shows Master and Mistress Jay beneath twin canopies, while below is a quaint group of figures portraying the six sons and eight daughters with whom they were blessed.

In the nave, high up at the west end (level with the



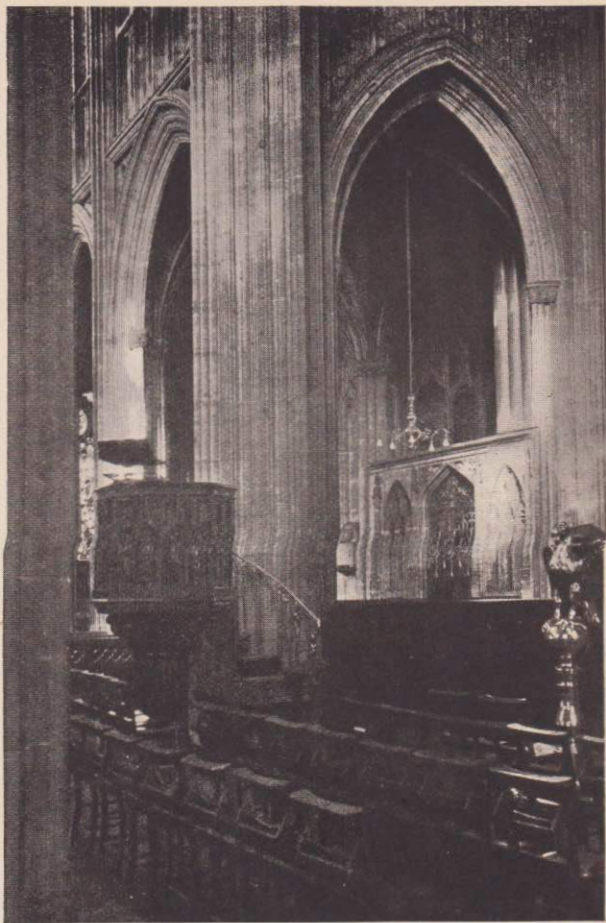
small gallery), is the monument of not the least of Bristol's sons—Admiral Sir William Penn (1621–70), one of Cromwell's "Sea Generals," who was born at Bristol. He entered the naval service as a boy and in 1642 was a captain, though his first certain command was in 1644, when Parliament appointed him to the *Fellowship*, of twenty-eight guns. Thereafter Penn rose steadily. He served as admiral with great distinction in the first Dutch War, but this part of his career ended in disgrace in 1655 after the complete failure of the expedition against the Spanish West Indies.

In the second Dutch War Penn was Great Captain Commander of the Fleet under the Duke of York—that is practically second-in-command, chief-of-staff, and captain of the fleet together. It was unquestionably he who drew up the Sailing and Fighting Instructions which ruled English naval tactics for many a year, and it was with equal certainty Penn who really won the Battle of Lowestoft on June 3, 1665, the only unequivocal victory gained by England over the Dutch in the war. He shared in the supersession of the Duke, but remained at the Navy Office until his death in 1670. Pepys, who hated him, loses no opportunity of abusing him, the probability being that Penn sometimes had to exert his authority, which the self-sufficient Pepys resented. Penn's monument contains a concise account of his services and bears above it the armour of the admiral, showing him to have been a small man. He seems to have been a somewhat quiet, easy-going person, skilled in his profession, but with no very strong convictions, quite ready to serve King or Parliament, with a leaning towards royalty. Pepys









G. H.

UNDER THE CROSSING OF THE CHURCH OF ST. MARY  
REDCLIFFE, BRISTOL

Looking into the north transept, and showing the unsurpassed  
stateliness of the Perpendicular Gothic piers and arches.

calls him "mean"; certainly he lived very quietly and it is equally certain that he was not grasping; very probably some of the great Samuel's ill-feeling was due to the fact that Penn interfered too much with his subordinate's money-getting schemes. Although a man of some considerable distinction, Penn is probably better known as the father of William Penn, the coloniser of Pennsylvania.

No account of St. Mary Redcliffe would be complete without a reference to that ill-fated genius, Thomas Chatterton, who was born in Pile Street and baptised in St. Mary Redcliffe on 1st January, 1753. Nothing in history is more poignantly pathetic than the life-story of this unhappy boy, who may veritably be said "never to have had a chance." Apart from the queer moral "kink" which induced him to represent his own works as ancient fragments and to imitate palæography, there is no shadow of doubt that Chatterton possessed a truly wonderful genius. When he was eleven he had written three poems of merit. It is impossible here to write at length of his unhappy life, and his suicide at the age of eighteen. Perhaps it was best that his life should have been cut short; it is difficult to believe that he would ever have been happy, even though he had lived to be famous and prosperous.

It was from fragments of documents, abstracted by Chatterton's father from the muniment-room above the North Porch, that the precocious boy learnt the art of imitating palæography; so that it may be said that St. Mary Redcliffe was the life and death of Chatterton. To-day he is commemorated by a statue at the north-east corner of the churchyard.

## CHAPTER IV

### OTHER BRISTOL CHURCHES

*The Temple Church—St. Stephen's Church—  
St. James's Church*

#### THE TEMPLE CHURCH

**C**oming from Temple Meads Station along Victoria Street to Bristol Bridge, the eye is speedily attracted by the high leaning tower of the Temple Church, which stands just off the intersection of Victoria Street and Temple Street.

The greater portion of the district of Bristol on the south side of the Avon formerly belonged to the famous Order of the Knights of the Temple of Jerusalem. It was called Gutege, and was granted to the Order by Earl Robert of Gloucester. Probably a church occupied the site soon afterwards; certainly at the destruction of the Order in 1307 there was one on the spot, which on the fall of the Templars came into the possession of the Knights of St. John. The present church was probably commenced by the latter to take the place of a Norman or perhaps Early English building, for the oldest portion is of the Decorated period.

The Weavers' Chapel, dedicated to St. Katharine, at the east end of the north aisle, and the chancel are





G. H.

#### THE LEANING TOWER OF BRISTOL

The tower of Temple Church, Bristol, has, like that of Pisa and many Fenland churches, been leaning for centuries. It dates from the xivth century, and is five feet out of plumb.



probably the surviving fragments of this xivth-century edifice. The last windows contain good, perhaps rather Early Decorated tracery. The lateral openings are oddly enough square-headed, but seem also to date from the Decorated period. The rest of the church is Perpendicular of the xvth century, the five-light west window being a fine example of its class. The vault of the nave roof is panelled in squares by oak ribs, with bosses at the intersections.

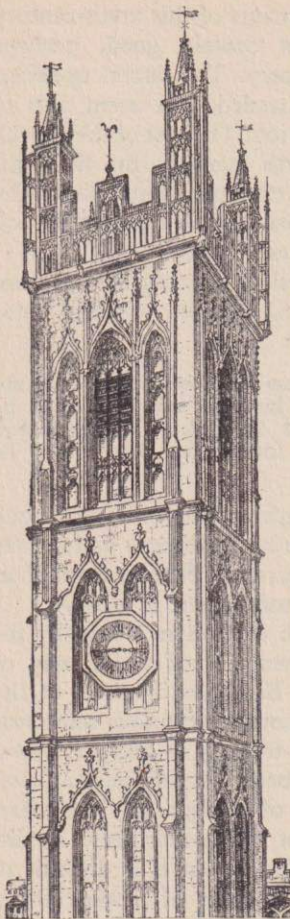
In the interior are several interesting brasses, one of which dates back to 1396, and has a curious Latin epitaph. Translated it reads:

Thou, O Christ, art witness that this stone does not lie here to adorn my body, but that my spirit may be remembered. Ye who pass it by, old, middle-aged and young, put up your prayers for me that thus I may be granted hope of pardon.

In the chancel is a palimpsest brass, having on one side the figure of a priest in his vestments and on the other that of a woman. Apparently the executors of an ecclesiastic "usurped" the monument of a lady.

On the north side of the chancel is a lengthy inscription to the various members of the family of Knight, very prominent in Bristol at the end of the xviii<sup>th</sup> century. Its most famous or notorious scion was Sir John Knight, M.P. for the city in 1693, satirised by Macaulay. He was a stubborn Tory of the old Cavalier type, a virulent hater of Whigs and foreigners, and a violent persecutor of Nonconformists. Hazlitt seems rather to have liked him, but it is difficult to feel more than a limited amount of respect for a narrow-minded man who "reeked" with the most





THE TOWER OF ST. STEPHEN'S  
CHURCH, BRISTOL <sup>1</sup>

violent and vulgar patriotism, and whose oratorical style made even his admirer think of the bear-garden. ¶

A more estimable but still rather narrow-minded Bristolian, the famous Edward Colston, was baptised in the Temple Church, but he seems to have had little connection with it in his lifetime.

The famous tower, which has been compared with that of Pisa, is 113 feet high. The lower portion dates from the beginning of the xivth century. It was restored and its upper stage added about sixty years later. The distinction between the two portions is marked, the lower one being comparatively plain, while the upper stage is so much elaborated that it rather suggests an ornamented lantern imposed upon the tower. This upper stage commences with a band of trefoils which may

<sup>1</sup> The lacelike Perpendicular parapet is a notable feature.

have been the parapet of the original tower before it was heightened. The lower portion has buttresses at three of the angles, and at the fourth an octagonal stairway turret.

The tower leans five feet out of the perpendicular. This seems to have been caused by the imposition of the upper stage, which produced a sinkage of the foundations. The oddest feature is that the inclination, like that of Pisa, is not uniform: the "lean" is in a slight curve instead of a right line. It is just possible that the later portion corrected a slight inclination which the additional weight gradually increased, and so produced the almost curved aspect of the tower. There is an internal buttress on the north side which was evidently built to prevent an increase of the inclination.

### ST. STEPHEN'S CHURCH

Conspicuous in the small space enclosed by Clare Street, St. Stephen's Street, and Narrow Quay, stands the tall Perpendicular church of St. Stephen, whose four-storied tower, built about 1455, must be counted among the finest of those in the west country. It is almost 150 feet in height to the tops of the pinnacles. Its remarkable feature is that it has practically no corner buttresses, and rises almost sheer from the ground: in consequence it possesses an appearance of soaring majesty which is extremely effective. Architecturally it is not quite satisfactory, the fourth story being somewhat too lofty, so that it appears to over-balance those below. This story, however, is very

good and graceful, Perpendicular in style: each face has three tall ogee windows, the central one wider than those on either side. The openwork parapet and terminal pinnacles are also extremely effective, giving a pleasant feeling of lightness, while the proportions of the building as a whole are admirable.

Three of the pinnacles, it might be mentioned, were blown away in the fatal hurricane of 26th November to 1st December, 1703, which spread ruin and mourning throughout England. At the same time the tide rose and flooded the church to a depth of six inches, as is stated in the minute-book of the vestry. It was in this same tempest that Bishop Kidder and his wife were killed in the palace at Wells.

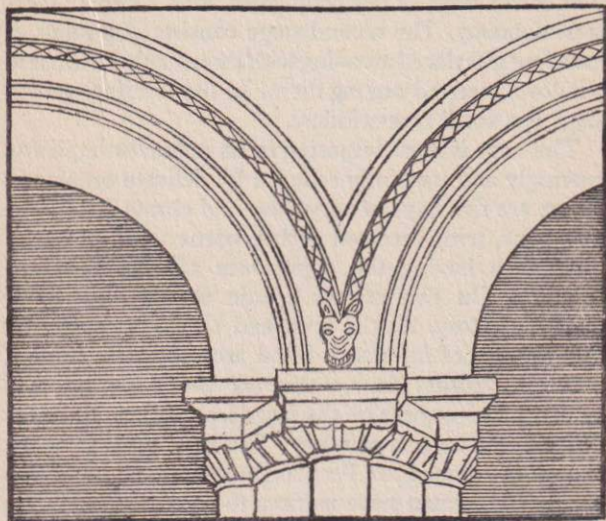
The south porch dates from approximately the same period as the tower. Externally it seems to be quite dwarfed by the latter. It has an elaborate entrance doorway with a cusped inner arch, while the roof is filled with fine fan tracery, enriched with pendants.

The interior of the restored church is not especially interesting, although the arcades are good. The arrangement of main arcade and clerestory, without triforium or division, is similar to that of St. Mary Redcliffe. There are seven pairs of graceful grouped piers, the capitals of which are ornamented with angels bearing scrolls. The east window is a finely-contoured Perpendicular opening of two stories, but the windows of the aisles and clerestory are not good.

The roof is of oak, divided into bays correspondent with the longitudinal arcades. Each bay has eight main panels with finely-moulded ribs, with bosses at the intersections sculptured with rosettes. There is in the



church one unidentified monument of interest, a Decorated table-tomb with the effigies of a man and woman which must be a survival from the building which the present church superseded.



NORMAN SCALLOPED CAPITAL AND CORBEL IN ST. JAMES'S CHURCH, BRISTOL

### ST. JAMES'S CHURCH

St. James's Church, like the cathedral, originally lay outside the walls of Bristol. It was the church of a Benedictine Priory, founded by Robert, Earl of Gloucester, about 1140. Much of it has disappeared,

but the nave survives, and with the exception of the chapter-house of the cathedral is perhaps the most interesting example of Norman architecture in Bristol.

The west front is very simple and also most effective. The lower stage is perfectly plain with a simple Norman doorway. The second stage consists of a range of excellent interlaced arcading with three finely-contoured windows inserted among them. In the terminal gabled stage is a small rose-window.

The nave is most imposing in its massive simplicity, sparingly and tastefully relieved by delicate ornament. There are five bays of very pure and chaste Late Norman type, with recessed arches borne upon powerful piers each having the appearance of eight grouped columns. On this stately arcade stands a perfectly plain clerestory. At the west end the lower stage has first a range of interlaced blind arcading with upon it a simple arcade. Above this are the three Norman lancets which appear on the façade, and above them the delightful little rose-window. The later portion of the church is a poor Late Perpendicular addition, but this beautiful Norman nave suffices to raise it in architectural interest almost to the level of the cathedral and St. Mary Redcliffe.

## CHAPTER V

### THE ABBEY-CHURCH OF BATH

*Early History and Building—The Cathedral of Jean de Villula—The Contest with Wells—A Slow Decay—Bishop King's New Church—Its Fortunes—Description, Exterior and Interior—The Monuments*

#### EARLY HISTORY AND BUILDING

**B**ath presents itself to the visitor as a city of the XVIIIth century; there is in it little or nothing, above ground, to bear witness to the days when gouty Romano-British *praesides* and *duces* were borne through its streets in their litters to relieve their pains in the healing waters of Sul's Springs. Little more remains to testify to its mediæval celebrity, when the moneyers of Anglo-Saxon kings struck quaintly-devised silver pennies within its walls, and when Jean de Villula's vast abbey-church towered above the huddled roofs of the town. The city to-day is very largely the creation of the two Woods—most picturesque and effective as regards planning, but less beautiful in respect of architecture. In the midst of the Georgian stone and brick, however, there rises the abbey-church, at once imposing and delicate—almost one might say fragile—which early in the XVIIth century replaced the building erected by Jean de Villula.



Let it not be imagined, from the references to Georgian architecture, that modern Bath is an unattractive city. On the contrary, quite apart from the beauty of its situation, it is rather remarkably attractive. Of true architectural loveliness there is very little, though there are some imposing pseudo-classical edifices, but the broad, well-cared-for streets, wide squares and crescents, and the picturesque public gardens and parks, amply compensate for the lack of artistic distinction among the buildings, and upon the whole it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that, as a city, Bath holds an almost unchallenged place in England.

In point of antiquity, also, Bath has not many rivals, for, setting apart the legend of the British prince Bladud, there is little reason to doubt that the mineral springs on the site were known to the pre-Roman inhabitants of the neighbourhood, and they may very well have been used by princes and nobles from other parts of Britain. The coins found date back to well before the Imperial epoch and, even allowing for the slow drift and long circulation-life of money in those days of imperfect communication and primitive mintage, it seems a fair assumption that there was a not inconsiderable settlement around the healing springs before the legions of Rome came tramping down the valley of the Avon on their way westward. Some of the tombstones date to the first half-century of the Roman occupation, and there is plenty of evidence to show that by about 70-80, that is within a generation of the invasion of Claudius, the springs were being used by Roman invalids.

By the reign of Vespasian, therefore, a town of some pretensions, with permanent houses and public buildings, may be inferred around the Springs of Sul, the Celtic goddess whom the incoming Romans identified with Minerva. But permanent habitations and prosperity do not necessarily imply Christianity, and the beginnings of Christian Bath may belong to quite a late date. The evidence of Christianity in Roman Britain is scanty at best, and at Bath it seems to be nearly non-existent. In fact *Aquæ Sulis* may have remained essentially a pagan town long after Christianity had been adopted by Constantine, and it may be that the statue of Sul stood upon its pedestal almost to the last.

*Aquæ Sulis* was taken by the English invaders under Ceawlin, probably in the year 582. The event itself is avouched by the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which is unlikely to be incorrect on such a point. In other words, it had taken the invaders considerably more than a century, at the lowest computation, to obtain a firm footing in the valley of the Avon. What they found at Sul's Springs cannot be determined, but that they occupied a town much decayed from its former state need hardly be questioned. History is silent as to the conditions which obtained in the town after its capture: quite probably it was sacked and destroyed, lying in ruins for several, perhaps many, years. At any rate there is no mention of it until 676, nearly a century afterwards.

This mention is in a charter, given in Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus*, which states that Osric, the *sub-regulus* of the Hwiccas, granted to the Abbess Bertana



one hundred manentes<sup>1</sup> of land in the neighbourhood of the city of Bath for the erection and endowment of a monastery of holy virgins. It is extremely unlikely that this is the actual original form of the grant, but the donation itself is probably authentic. Moreover, we know that at this time there lived a *subregulus* Osric, who was active in ecclesiastical works.

Some years later, possibly about 681, there appears a second charter, granted by Aethelred, King of Mercia, by which a certain Aethelmod conveys to the convent of Bath some landed property on the Cherwell. The abbess named is Bernguidis, who may be the Bertana of the earlier charter; with her is associated a certain Folcburh, evidently a coadjutor or prioress. With that the nuns of Bath disappear—for what reason is not known; but I am inclined to ascribe the circumstance to the frontier wars between Mercia and Wessex. The boundary seems generally to have been the Avon, and the position of Bath must have been a precarious one.

By 758 the nunnery had been, or was about to be, superseded by an establishment of monks, for in that year Cynewulf, King of Wessex, granted five manentes of land at North Stoke to the monks and the monastic church of St. Peter. The grant is made with the consent of Offa, King of Mercia, showing that Cynewulf was his vassal. The fact seems to be that the latter, all through his reign, ruled only a part of Wessex, and was always opposed by one or more competitors, against whom he could only maintain a precarious kingship by the support of the Mercian. There is

<sup>1</sup> Evidently equivalent to "hides."



some reason to think that the monastery was actually founded in the reign of Aethelbald, the predecessor of Offa, apparently by Hætherod, Bishop of Worcester. After a time the bishop obviously fell into disgrace with the king, for in 781, at the Synod of Brentford, Hætherod surrendered to Offa all that "celebrated monastery" at Bath, as well as the land granted by Cynewulf. Clearly Offa's will was paramount. What became of the monastery is not known. William of Malmesbury says that Offa *founded* it, while Leland records a tradition that he established a college of secular priests at Bath. The whole subject is extremely obscure; it is improbable that the community survived the Danish ravages of the ixth century.

However that may be, it was evidently re-established, for Aethelstan and his brother and successor, Eadmund I., made to the "venerable community" large grants of land. But still there is much uncertainty both as to the precise nature of the community and the conditions under which the grants were made. The first abbot definitely named is Æscwig, about 970: it is plausibly suggested that he was in fact the first abbot appointed by St. Dunstan, in pursuance of his policy of reforming the somewhat disorderly ecclesiastical establishments which were then the rule in England.

On the 11th of May, 973, an event of considerable importance, and unquestionably attended with much barbaric pomp, took place at Bath when, in his thirtieth year, King Eadgar, famous in after years as Eadgar "the Peaceful," was solemnly crowned in the abbey-church by Archbishops Dunstan and Oswald.

Of the ceremony there are minute details, but, oddly enough, neither monastery nor abbot is mentioned, although the chronicler <sup>1</sup> writes of "a crowd of priests, a throng of monks."

The suspicion that no permanent institution existed at Bath at this time deepens when the *Vita Elphegi* is studied. About the year 980, as it would seem, Aelfeah (St. Alphage), presently to be the martyr-Archbishop of Canterbury, came to live as a hermit at Bath, being disgusted by the worldliness and disorder which reigned in his own monastery of Deerhurst.<sup>2</sup> He lived by himself in a separate cell, but very soon his sanctity attracted other men of pious habits, who settled near him. The information is scanty, but there is clear mention of St. Aelfeah administering revenues and appointing a delegate to carry out administrative duties. Aelfeah's life at Bath was not of long duration for, in 983, he was appointed Bishop of Winchester.

On the whole there is an impression gained that Bath possessed a church with canons attached to it, but that there was no permanent monastery, although from time to time the grants of a king or the influence of a man of especial piety created something in the nature of a community of monks. Abbots are mentioned from time to time, but the confusion is great; there are found two abbots at once connected with St. Peter's Minster. It seems possible that there were two institutions connected with it, one the original

<sup>1</sup> *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, A.D. 973, on the hallowing of Eadgar at Bath.

<sup>2</sup> Deerhurst, near Tewkesbury, is described in the volume in this series devoted to Gloucester and Tewkesbury.







*G. H.*

THE WEST FRONT OF BATH ABBEY-CHURCH

On the angle turrets is the curious feature of a representation on an immense scale of Bishop Oliver King's dream of angels ascending and descending on a ladder.

body which had been associated with it since the days of Offa, the other the new community established by St. Aelfeah. The situation is very puzzling. There were two abbots, Wulfwald and Aelfsige, as late as 1084, and since they remained unmolested, their position must have been regular in the eyes of the vigorous Archbishop Lanfranc and his stern master, William the Conqueror. Wulfwald died about 1084, and Aelfsige ruled alone until 1087. In the following year Bath was captured and sacked by Robert de Mowbray, one of the barons who endeavoured to prevent the accession of William Rufus. At the same time Giso, the Bishop of Wells, died.

The king, apparently by the advice of Lanfranc, conferred the see upon Jean de Villula of Tours, an ecclesiastic who had been educated as a physician and was highly skilled in his profession, whereby he had amassed a great fortune. His cultivated mind, as may be believed, was attracted by the Roman traditions of Bath, and he determined to fix the seat of his bishopric there rather than at Wells. For this, or for other reasons, he obtained a grant of the ruined city, and set to work to organise a regular monastic community and build a cathedral.

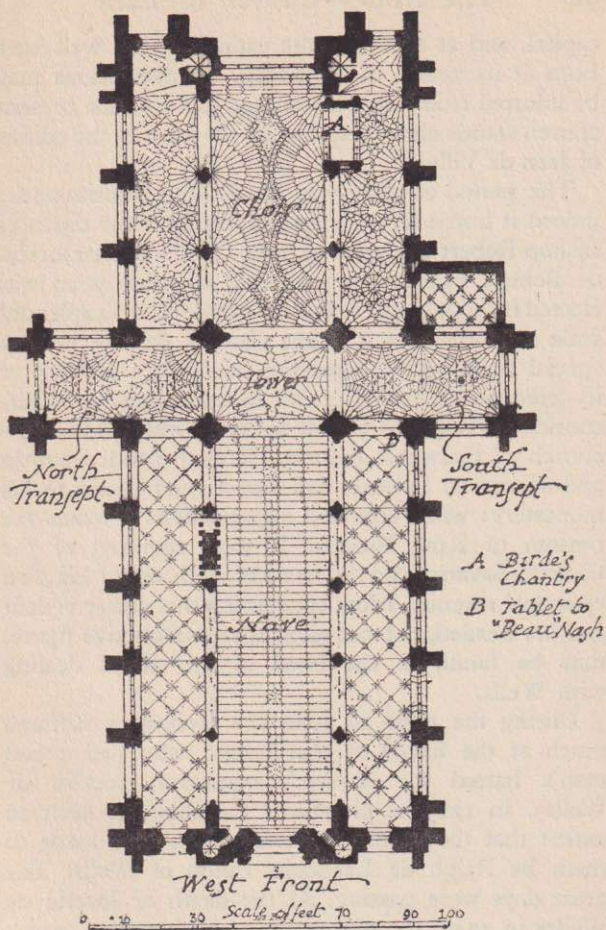
William of Malmesbury, the historian, is no friend of Jean de Villula. An impartial judge will perhaps pronounce that he was a somewhat high-handed personage, thinking more of his secular greatness than of his religious duties, but in addition he earned the hatred of the English monks by his suppression of their irregularities and the introduction of many Normans to bring about a higher tone. In this respect his efforts

can hardly be considered blameworthy, and he certainly succeeded in fostering literary activity. Nor does he seem to have been foolishly despotic. When he had completed the organisation of the community he placed over it a prior, a Norman named Jehan, and handed over to his management the land which he had acquired or recovered for them. On the whole there is reason to think that the doctor of medicine from Tours was at any rate an active organiser and administrator.

As a builder he must rank with the first of his age. He set himself to build a new cathedral-church on a really princely scale, and laboured at the work for thirty-four strenuous years until, when he died in 1122, it was completed as far as the lower vaultings—which would appear to indicate that the general ground-plan was complete and the church raised as far as the triforium, while the aisles were already vaulted. Jean de Villula appears to have expended upon the fabric the revenue of the city as well as that of the monastery, and to have been aided by the great local barons—William de Moyun at Dunster and Walter de Douai.

The cathedral of Jean de Villula had barely been completed when it was badly damaged, in 1137, by a fire. Despite the troubles of Stephen's reign, Bishop Robert of Lewes rebuilt it, and also erected at Bath all the appurtenances of a cathedral, including a chapter-house, as well as new monastic buildings and a cloister. Though he was friendly to the canons of Wells and did much for their community, it seems clear that he intended to make Bath his episcopal



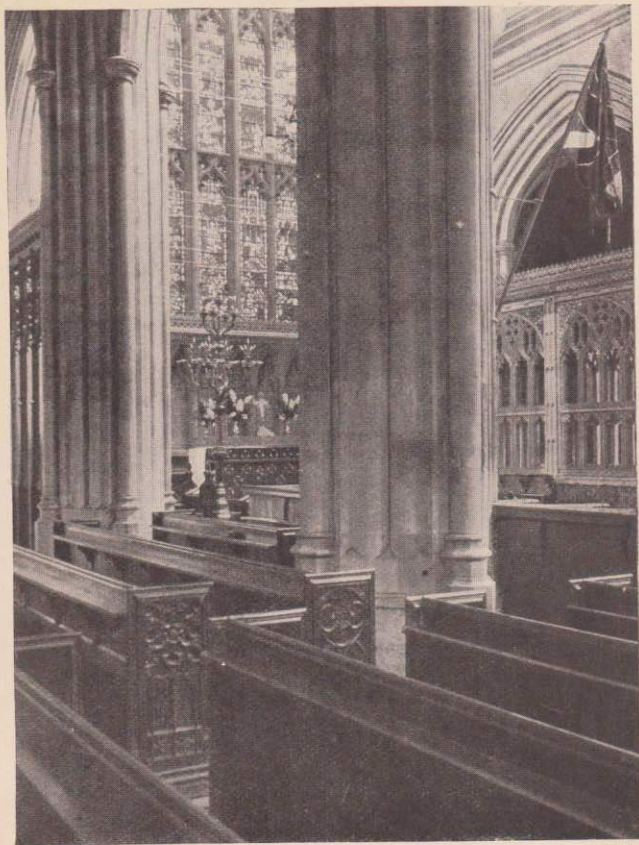


PLAN OF BATH ABBEY

capital, and at this time the cathedral may well have been at its zenith of splendour. Its dimensions may be inferred from the well-attested fact that the present church stands almost entirely in the nave of the edifice of Jean de Villula.

The period of glory was not of long continuance; indeed it lasted for only sixty years after the death of Bishop Robert of Lewes in 1166. Reginald FitzJocelin de Bohun, who after an interval of seven years was elected bishop, began to build a cathedral on a splendid scale at Wells. Yet it seems obvious that he had no special intention of depriving St. Peter's at Bath of its precedence, for, in 1180, in appealing for Whitsuntide offerings, he calls it the cathedral and mother-church of the whole diocese. His high-handed cousin and successor, Savaric, was also a good friend to his monastery: when enforced subscriptions towards the ransom of King Richard I. were required of the Church, Savaric paid the share of Bath out of his own episcopal revenue. More concerning this rather violent and hot-headed, yet not altogether unattractive figure, may be found in the book of this series dealing with Wells.

During the reign of John the monastery suffered much at the hands of that tyrant, who had a bad man's hatred for Savaric's successor, Jocelin de Welles. In 1213 he plundered the abbey to such an extent that the monks subsisted upon gifts made to them by Ralph de Lechdale, canon of Wells. The great days were passing. At the death of Jocelin de Welles in 1242, the monastery of Bath stole a march upon the canonry of Wells and elected their own



G. H.

### THE CHOIR AND EAST WINDOW OF BATH ABBEY

The whole building is typical of the last period of Perpendicular.  
On the right is the beautiful Birde Chantry.





candidate, Roger, Precentor of Salisbury, but he proved to be the last bishop of the Somersetshire diocese to live and die at Bath. The fact was that there had been a long struggle between the ancient religious pretensions of Wells, which had been a bishop's seat since 910, and the claims of Bath, based upon its Roman associations. In the strife Wells very definitely won; after Roger the bishops almost invariably lived at Wells, and the glory departed from the great cathedral which Jean de Villula's pride had reared amid the ruins of *Aquæ Sulis*.

Concerning the decline of the monastery there is no doubt. There were forty-one monks resident in 1205, but in 1344 only thirty. After the Black Death in 1349 there never seem to have been more than twenty-two. Moreover there is continual complaint of extravagant administration and other irregularities, including loose living on the part of priors. The house fell into debt, and the great church of Jean de Villula was allowed to decay. Thus matters continued until 1499, when Oliver King, Bishop of Bath and Wells, made a visitation and set himself to inaugurate sorely-needed reforms. The administration of the prior, John Cantlowe, must have been scandalously lax, for Bishop King speaks of great idleness, gluttony, and the presence of women. When one realises the unnatural conditions of monastic life, which were enforced among men not especially fitted for it, it is not surprising that the level of morals was low. The bishop did his best. When Cantlowe died he agreed to the election as prior of William Birde, who seems to have been a man of integrity and energy. The church was

in a state of absolute ruin. Evidently no care had been taken of it for generations.

King found that the revenue of the priory was £480 per annum. He set aside about £180 (say £1500 in gold value) for the support of the prior and his sixteen monks—a fairly adequate provision—and directed that the remaining £300 should be devoted to the rebuilding of the church. Dilapidation had reached such a pitch that Prior Birde simply made a clean sweep of the ruins, and on the site of the nave began to build a completely new church in the prevailing Perpendicular style. He died in May 1525, leaving the completion of the work to his successor, William Holleway or Gybbes, the last prior of Bath.

The story of how the bishop became inspired with the idea of rebuilding the church must not be omitted, since it enters into the architecture. At his visitation in 1499 King was deeply impressed with the ruin and decay of the once stately church of Jean de Villula and Robert de Lewes. Retiring to rest in a melancholy frame of mind he dreamed a dream, in which he saw the Holy Trinity and a ladder with angels ascending and descending, and at the foot of the ladder an olive tree crowned. To him, as in his sleep he beheld the sight, came a voice which said, "Let an olive establish the crown and a king restore the church." There is no reason to doubt the truth of the story or the reality of the dream; it was such as might be expected of a man of sensitive and melancholy temperament, as King certainly was.

Hardly had the church been completed when the heavy hand of Henry VIII. and his minister Cromwell,



*Malleus Monachorum*, descended fatally upon the priory. In 1535 there came to Bath Dr. Richard Layton, collecting materials for the "Black Book," which was to ensure the destruction of the monasteries. How far Layton spoke truth it is impossible to decide; there is little doubt that these prejudiced men were by no means impartial investigators, and one at least of Layton's statements seems to be flatly contradicted by other evidence. He says that Prior Holleway was a thoroughly upright man—which seems to be true—but also asserts that he was "simple and not of the greteste wit," whereas a contemporary speaks of his great learning.

As to the house as a whole Layton has not a good word to say for it, but his statements bear the stamp of brazen falsehood. He makes a general charge against the whole twenty monks, not only of excessive sexual intercourse, but also of unnatural vice. One of them, he says, has *ten* mistresses, some *eight*, and all the rest "no fewer." This statement bears the stamp of reckless mendacity—even making full allowance for the fact that the house was not well regulated.

Prior Holleway, at the Dissolution, received a handsome pension of £80 per annum (£600 to £700 in gold value); his twenty monks received from £9 to £4 13s. 4d. a year each. Holleway also received a dwelling-house. One or two of the monks were granted ecclesiastical benefices. The prior ultimately seems to have lost his reason, and died blind as well as insane.

The church was offered by the Crown to the citizens of Bath for the sum of five hundred marks, but they were less public-spirited than the men of Tewkesbury

and declined the offer. So the stately building was unroofed, plundered of its metals and glass and left to decay.

Leland visited Bath about 1540, just after the Dissolution, and describes the state of things—the ancient cathedral roofless and in ruins, with the “right goodly new church” at the west end. The walls of the edifice of Jean de Villula yet stood, bare and gaunt, but grass and weeds grew plentifully about the tomb of the magnificent French builder-bishop and round the resting-places of his successors, who lay in the cathedral. Soon after Leland’s visit the hand of the despoiler was busier than ever, and the new church became even as the old. In 1560 Edmund Colthurst, the then owner, presented the wrecked building to the city, but not until 1597 was a beginning made of restoring some part of it for purposes of public worship. The choir was roofed and the great east window glazed; and in 1609 Bishop Montague roofed the nave and inaugurated a thorough restoration, which was completed in 1616. He was very properly buried in the church.

Much of Montague’s good work was undone by greedy magistrates, who granted building-leases recklessly around the church, so that unseemly dwelling-houses literally abutted upon it, and the north aisle was used as a public thoroughfare! Shame at length impelled the Bathonians to make some improvement, and in the beginning of the nineteenth century the encroaching houses were one by one removed. Finally, in 1864, a comprehensive restoration was undertaken, which was completed ten years later at a cost of thirty-five thousand pounds, half of which was



defrayed by the family of the rector, the Rev. Charles Kemble, to whom the main credit is justly due. The director of the work was, one might almost say inevitably, Sir Gilbert Scott. After the death of the munificent rector his widow presented the reredos, and various other appendages and embellishments were given by the appreciative parishioners.

Bath Abbey, as it is very commonly called, has been described as "The Lantern of England" from the number and size of its windows. Externally, indeed, there is much which is reminiscent of "Hardwicke Hall, more glass than wall," especially at the east end. A peculiar feature is found in the transepts, which are some eleven feet narrower than the body of the church; the tower is oblong in plan instead of square. From some view-points this is not especially notable, but it is extremely apparent from the north, and to some it spoils the general appearance of the building.

In plan the church is extremely simple, being a plain cross with the oblong tower at the crossing. There are no external appendages except the vestry on the east side of the south transept.

The style is, naturally, Perpendicular Gothic, and, equally naturally, owing to the date of the building, Perpendicular not of the best type. As a whole it is evident that the edifice is too narrow and too lofty to be symmetrical, though the feeling of "top-heaviness" has been skilfully obviated by the use of massive buttresses. But that there is too much height and too little breadth is clear to anyone who surveys the church from the north-east. The square-headed window of the east end carries out the same scheme as the windows of



the tower and is not quite satisfying; the outlines of those of the high clerestory are good; those of the aisles are of indifferent design. The very tall and narrow openings at the ends of the transepts are unusual, but need not be condemned on that account. Bath Abbey-Church is a building possessing an original west front and a feeling of fragility on account of its very extensive area of fenestration, but it is hardly able to inspire more than a moderate degree of enthusiasm.

The best view is perhaps that from the north-east, the only part, indeed, from which it is possible to make a comprehensive survey. From this standpoint the church appears very well. Its too great height, in proportion to its breadth, is not especially noticeable, nor are the awkward outline of the tower and the exaggerated length of the window at the north end of the transept. The general contours are rather angular and uninspiring, but the tower is strong, and the powerful-looking turret buttresses at the east end save the building from the charge of mediocrity.

It will be noted that at the east end the aisles project beyond the central member of the choir, while the main buttresses are quite simple and without ornament. The reason is unquestionably that the church was never completed, the intention, probably, being to build a Lady Chapel in extension of the choir. As far as probabilities go, the huge east window occupies the position of the ancient Norman tower arch. Had the design of Bishop King and Prior Birde been executed in its entirety, the new building would apparently have been almost as long as the cathedral of Jean de Villula; it is likely that it is considerably loftier.

THE WEST FRONT. It is impossible to obtain an adequate view of the west front, owing to the fact that the pump room encroaches upon it to the south. To survey it as a whole it is necessary to approach so closely that the general design cannot be appreciated and criticised.

It seems very probable that Bishop King's architects chose as their model the west front of Gloucester Cathedral; the two designs are extremely similar. This of Bath has a central façade supported by very plain and powerful turret buttresses, flanked on either hand by wings, and with a porch in advance of all. The central portion is pierced by a huge Perpendicular window of satisfying outline; each of the wings has an opening of a somewhat uninspired contour.

As a whole it is evident that the façade is not too well-proportioned. The central member is somewhat high and narrow, and in particular the upper portion is too lofty in proportion to the porch. The wings are rather feeble as compared with the height and power of the centre, and the two side-doorways appear puny. The strong turret buttresses are the emphatic features of an otherwise somewhat uninspiring conception; they afford adequate support to the great window, and hold together in a satisfactory fashion the different members of the frontage.

THE DREAM LADDERS. The turret buttresses are embellished with sculpture depicting the famous dream of Bishop King. On the face of each is a ladder with angels ascending and descending, flanked by statued niches one above another. Some of the figures are much mutilated, and the pose of all the angels

is fantastic—to depict a figure upon a ladder which shall combine divinity, majesty and grace is a problem likely to baffle most sculptors, and it was obviously too difficult to be solved to perfection by the bishop's artists. The originality of the design gives interest to the composition, and on this account one is inclined to overlook obvious failings.

The spirelets of the turrets are not particularly pleasant; they are just a little too heavy and give a slightly overloaded appearance to the structures which they crown. This is accentuated by the weakening of the main masses by the cutting into them of the niches, but it is to some extent compensated by the support on either flank of the flying-buttresses, which give a feeling of stability, and also render less marked the feebleness of the wings.

THE PORCH can hardly be described as a satisfactory architectural composition, for it is in no particular style, and yet it is actually pleasing. The portal itself is a sort of Renaissance screen, pierced by a doorway which is Gothic in outline, but otherwise belongs to no known school of architecture. The spandrels are filled with sculptured foliation. The double door is sculptured with the arms of Montague and the See of Winchester, to which the restorer-bishop was translated from Bath and Wells. The doorway is flanked by canopied statues of Bishop King and William Birde.

From this brief description it may be deduced that, though much criticism may be pronounced upon the west front of Bath Abbey-Church, it is, upon the whole, not at all unpleasing or unsatisfactory. It is



not precisely inspiring, but it is very far from a failure. There is power in the great turret buttresses, and the huge central window is not without mystery, while Bishop King's quaint angel-and-ladder conception strikes a note of great originality.

THE TOWER. The tower is perhaps the least satisfactory feature of the whole pile. Except from one or two carefully selected view-points its awkward plan is evident, and as a composition it is hard and mechanical, while the square heads of its openings, corresponding with the east window, rob it of all the feeling of grace. Its merits are that it is distinguished by a certain massive sturdiness of contour, and that it rises well from the crossing of main member and transepts.

#### THE INTERIOR

The distinction between nave, choir and transepts is not very much marked at Bath, and, since the entire church is of one design, it is hardly necessary to separate a description of the interior into sections correspondent to the members.

Entering through the western porch the first impression produced is undoubtedly that of imposing height and spaciousness. From the pavement to the crown of the vault is seventy-three feet, while the entire internal length is not much over two hundred. The English Perpendicular builders were at any rate not guilty of the sin of spoiling an architectural conception by dwarfing their vaults, and in this respect the interior of Bath Abbey-Church is most satisfying.

In criticising the treatment of the piers and the

mouldings it should be remembered that the building was not commenced until Perpendicular Gothic had long passed its florescence.

There are in the nave five bays, and in the choir three. They are built in a strangely mixed fashion, the designer having desired to secure the advantages of the pier with, as well as without, a capital. At the four angles of the pillars a plain round shaft runs up to a very simple moulded capital, while in between them two other members continue into the arches innocent of capitals. The result is unpleasing to those with a pronounced feeling in favour of a decisive style, but to many no such dislike is experienced in looking at these arcades, which are typical of the last phase of Gothic architecture in England. The contours of the arches are not calculated to remove any unfavourable impression produced by the piers, for they are somewhat ineffective, while the mouldings and ornamentation generally are not distinguished by careful artistry.

There is no triforium. On the main arcade stands a very lofty clerestory, with bays corresponding to those below and each lighted by a three-storied Perpendicular window of good outline, although there is certain exaggeration of height which robs these fine openings of perfect symmetry. From the spring of the arches of the main arcade rise the slender piers from which diverge the ribs of the fan-traceried vault. This is modern, the work of Scott, but it is very perfect and very graceful, and undoubtedly far more effectually crowns the church than the plaster vaulting which was all that Bishop Montague's means would permit him to construct. Its contour is delightfully

satisfying to the eye, but therein the credit does not belong to Scott, since he followed that of the tower arches, which in that respect are as good as anything ever reared by English Perpendicular architects.

What has been said of the nave applies also to the choir and transepts, since there is no appreciable difference in style or workmanship. In criticising the interior, one is compelled to admit that if there is little to appeal to the imagination in detail, the building as a whole, now that it is so admirably crowned with fan-vaulting, is full of dignity and charm. Although the architecture is at best average, and the detail somewhat weak, the general effect is excellent, giving a feeling of stately spaciousness. This seems to have been the effect produced by it upon Richard Symonds in 1644, though as it possessed no ancient monuments he did not stay in it. But in his rather prosaic way he notes that it was "very large." One would think that, having found time in the midst of military duties to tramp into the church for a hurried glance, he would have jotted in his note-book that it was lofty and spacious rather than the uninforming word "large."

The view of the church from the west end is a fine one, full of the effect of soaring loftiness and ample space, and not devoid of mystery. The feeling eastward of the crossing would, I think, be almost perfect were the termination of the vista not disturbed by the squareness of the head of the great window. It is fortunate that the angularity of the east window, which is so apparent externally, is far less obvious within. Were this not so, a jarring note would have been struck, very disturbing to the harmony elsewhere.



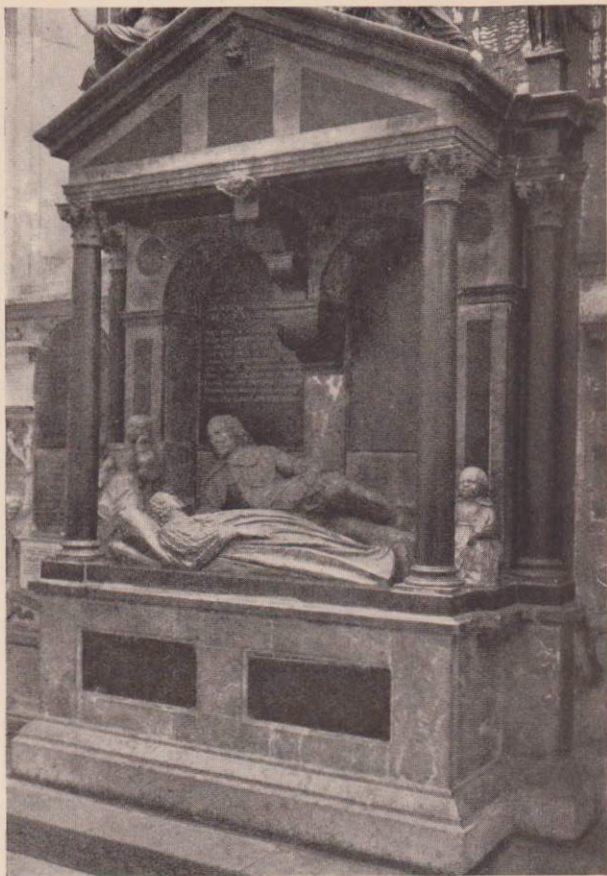
THE BIRDE CHANTRY. The single monument which dates back to the building of the church is the chantry of Prior Birde, which occupies the third and last bay on the south side of the choir, and thus stands on the right hand when facing the altar. The left-hand place was probably intended to be reserved for Bishop King, according to the terms of that prelate's will. The prior's chantry was left uncompleted owing to the intervention of the Dissolution. In all probability it was built by Holleway, the last superior of the community. In its present state it is largely a modern restoration. In the decoration appears the inevitable rebus, a bird with the letter W annexed.

The chantry has considerable merit as a work of art; the sculptured and fretted screens are as beautiful and delicate as anything of the kind executed during the period of Perpendicular art. The roof is a very graceful example of fan-tracery; at the east end there is a semi-vault with, in its centre, the prior's escutcheon. The restoration has, of course, robbed it of much of its interest, but there is little doubt that as originally designed it was a small gem of the art of the period.

There is no companion chantry on the north side, as would have been expected. There is no sign even that Bishop King was buried in the church, despite the terms of his will. If his corpse do indeed lie there, no monument marks the grave. It would seem that his actual resting-place is in St. George's Chapel at Windsor, where there is a chantry, with a tomb, bearing his name.

THE CHIMES. In the tower is a carillon, installed in 1890, which three times a day—at one, five and nine P.M.





G. H.

### THE MONUMENT TO LADY JANE WALLER IN BATH ABBEY

Sir William Waller, her husband, is shown in effigy beside her, and the blank panel on the right was prepared for his epitaph. But he subsequently remarried, and when he died was buried at Westminster.



—plays a tune varying with the day. On Sunday the chosen air is *The Easter Hymn*, and on Monday *Stella*. On Tuesday *The Harp that once through Tara's Halls* reminds hearers of ancient Ireland. On Wednesday the ears of the faithful (and unfaithful) are beguiled by the strains of *All Saints*; but on Thursday the air is *Ye Banks and Braes o' Bonnie Doone*. Friday is signalised by *Come, all ye Faithful*, while on Saturday the carillon chimes forth—of all airs in the world—*Tom Bowling*! Certainly no one can accuse the selectors of the seven airs of lack of catholicity.

THE MONUMENTS. The special interest of the church lies in its monuments—not on account of their beauty, for in truth a less sightly assemblage of tablets and tombs hardly ever encumbered a church. Some of them, it is true, possess artistic merit, but the restorers did well to arrange them as unobtrusively as possible in the aisles, where their unsightliness does not repel, while it is still possible to study them at leisure and form an estimate of their historic interest. The vast majority are of course to the memory of insignificant or commonplace persons who chanced to end their days near the springs of Bath; but several of them have much more than a transient interest.

THE MONTAGUE AND WALLER TOMBS. The earliest and most conspicuous tomb is that of Bishop Montague, a table monument of classical design beneath a somewhat heavy canopy borne upon Corinthian columns. In the south transept is a large and imposing, if not beautiful, monument to Jane, Lady Waller, the first wife of Sir William Waller, the

Parliamentary general of the Great Civil War. Its peculiar feature is that Waller's effigy appears upon it as well as that of the wife, and a blank space is left for his epitaph when the time came for him to be laid beside her. That time never came. Sir William Waller married twice after the death of the bride of his youth, and, after twenty years of trouble, during which he first fought Charles I. and afterwards incurred the suspicion of Cromwell for intrigues with his son, died in peace in 1668. He was buried in Tothill Street Chapel, Westminster, and so Lady Jane lies alone in the church at Bath. When Symonds walked through the then very bare interior in 1644, this and the Montague tomb were the only ones which he noted.

A certain interest attaches to the monument, owing to its association with Waller, a man who was certainly an ineffective politician and, apparently, a somewhat weak and vain personage, but beyond question upright and disinterested, and a general of considerable merit. He is better remembered for his somewhat ignominious defeats at Roundway Down and Cropredy Bridge than for his victories, but his lack of success was occasioned far more by the indiscipline of his raw and unpaid levies than by his own mismanagement. In fact there is good reason to think that Waller was, within his limits, an able general. His defect was lack of character, not lack of skill. He waged war, as he wrote to his opponent Hopton, "in a way of honour and without personal animosities." This was most admirable, but there is always the fear that men who argue thus will fail to press their enemies, and there is some reason to think that, as Cromwell believed,







G. H.

#### THE SOUTH TRANSEPT OF BATH ABBEY-CHURCH

On the right is the memorial tablet [the largest] to "Beau" Nash (1674-1762). Richard Nash became Master of the Ceremonies at Bath early in the XVIIIth century, and for many years reigned there in splendour as a social despot.

Waller was generally somewhat half-hearted—a spirit which does not help to win battles.

Waller's ability as a tactician was acknowledged by friends and foes. Against the very equivocal defeat on Lansdowne, outside Bath, the extraordinary rout of Roundway Down, and the defeat of Cropredy Bridge, must be set his notable successes of Gloucester, Alton (1643) and Cheriton (1644). Clarendon notes his skill in choosing positions and his aptitude as a defensive tactician. Cromwell also appears to have had a good opinion of him. But he was not a good disciplinarian, and his failure to keep order among his troops is not quite accounted for by lack of money. Cromwell was equally hampered, but he kept iron discipline. In after life Waller expressed his regrets for the sack of Winchester—but brave Nathaniel Fiennes, by sheer fearlessness, shamed the plunderers of the cathedral into order. What was Waller doing while Fiennes was guarding William of Wykeham's chantry sword in hand? In a word, Sir William Waller, admirable as a soldier and estimable as a man, was not of the stamp and force of those who save empires and found kingdoms.

There are four effigies on the tomb—that of Lady Waller; that of Sir William, who is represented as mourning over her; and those of their two children. Sir William's figure is damaged, and there was a malicious story that the mutilation was done by James II. when he visited Bath. Needless to say the good monk, Father John Hudleston, who attended Charles II. on his death-bed, is also dragged into the discreditable fable. The truth is that the damage had

been inflicted long before, for Pepys notes that the effigy was broken as early as 1668. No doubt some Royalist fanatic was responsible.

BEAU NASH. With almost every visitor to Bath the first name which occurs is that of "Beau" Richard



RICHARD ["BEAU"] NASH

The son of a Welsh glass-maker, who became Master of the Ceremonies at Bath in the first decades of the XVIIIth century.

Nash, whose memorial tablet is in the south aisle of the nave, close to the transept. The story of Nash's rise to eminence or notoriety as Master of Ceremonies at Bath is a curious one. He was born in 1674, and was the son of a Welsh glass-maker, who practised his trade with success sufficient for him to defray the expenses of a University education for his son. Richard entered Jesus College, Oxford, in 1691, but left without taking a degree, whereupon his father pur-

chased for him an ensign's commission in the army. But Nash presently threw up his commission, simply because he had not leisure enough for gaming and merrymaking. He reverted to the study of the law, and took chambers in the Temple, where his elaborate dress and gay life attracted much attention—too much,



indeed, for it laid him open to the suspicion that he acquired money by unlawful means.

The fact seems to be that he was a clever and successful gamester—not to say a reckless gambler. Between 1695 and 1705 he lived by his wits, and, when pressed for money, would make the wildest bets in order to raise a few guineas. Some of these wagers were upon matters which can only be described as coarse at best—but Nash was not burdened with superfluous bashfulness. In 1705 he seems to have been enjoying a fairly stable income from his winnings, and Bath attracted him as a new field for his somewhat dubious activities.

The general accommodation for visitors at Bath was then of a very poor, not to say squalid, description, and the whole course of life among the mixed company was such as to excite the disgust of a man who had been respectably reared. Nash undoubtedly possessed organising ability, and there is equally no doubt that his efforts did transform what was a sort of "bear garden" into a society at least outwardly decent and orderly. Nash presently was universally known and recognised as Master of the Ceremonies, and he was despotic in enforcing the rules which he had drawn up. His vanity was great: he dressed elaborately and spent the considerable income which he derived from the gaming-tables in reckless display. As a matter of course he "made love" to fair visitors, and is said to have been a successful intriguer, though his person was clumsy and his face rather ugly than otherwise. Against his vanity and loose morals must be set his good and even admirable qualities. He was

an honest player, generous, and quite free from the cynical brutality of the average adventurer. He took a quaint fatherly interest in young girls, and used to give them good advice with regard to the pitfalls of Bath society, besides keeping a close watch upon bullies and rakes who wished to molest them.

Nash was really nothing but a rather amiable gambler with a decided personality and organising capacity, but that he exercised a good influence is not to be doubted. His great days began to pass about 1737; he lost money; his gambling income became precarious, and his vanity and autocracy were disliked by the newer generation of visitors. He lived until 1762, and during the last four or five years of his life the city paid him a pension of one hundred and twenty pounds per annum. So the old beau died in comfort, and his memory was honoured by the city whom his efforts had certainly benefited.

Nash was a scoffer in religious matters, though it must be admitted that his practice was better than his precept—or lack of it. In an encounter with John Wesley he had decidedly the worst of it. The great evangelist was holding a meeting at Bath when Nash, with a following of the local *habitués* and magnates, endeavoured to suppress it, taking the ground that his preaching was a disturbing influence. After much heckling, Wesley asked the "Beau" flatly what evidence he had for supposing so much.

"Common fame," replied the autocratic M.C.

"Sir, what is your name?"

"My name is Nash."

"Sir, I dare not judge *you* by common fame!"

Which may be described as a fine example of the retort courteous and crushing—though Nash was certainly not so black as common fame painted him. A professional *roué* and gambler, who went out of his way to constitute himself the protector and adviser of inexperienced young women, must have had in him very much which was estimable.

There are many memorials of warriors who ended their lives at Bath. One of the earliest of them is to Brigadier William Steuart, who distinguished himself greatly during the War of the Spanish Succession, in which the genius of Marlborough and his friend Eugene of Savoy definitely broke the power of the military despotism of Louis XIV. of France. Steuart saw more evil fortune than good, for it was his lot to serve in Spain, the one quarter in which the Allies met with little success, being stolidly opposed by the Spaniards in the same fashion as they opposed the might of Napoleon. He commanded a regiment at the disastrous battle of Almanza in 1707, in which the Allies were utterly defeated by the Franco-Spaniards under the bastard son of James II. by Arabella Churchill, James FitzJames, Duke of Berwick. The Allies, oddly enough, were led by a French exile—Ruvigny, Earl of Galway. For his failure Galway was bitterly attacked, and pasquinades were written about the brave English general (Berwick) who had defeated the French commander of English troops. The facts were that Berwick had some thirty thousand men against twenty thousand, and that the Portuguese troops behaved very badly, although the lady-love of their general, Das Minas, fought beside him in cuirass



and breeches like a Jeanne d'Arc or an Aethelflæd of England. When ten thousand men of twenty thousand run away, the defeat of the rest by triple numbers is inevitable. Steuart escaped from the rout and made a heroic defence of the town of Alcira against Berwick. He survived his trials in Spain for nearly thirty years.

There is one small memorial tablet which brings the church into direct association with the foundation of our Indian Empire. It is that of Colonel Alexander Champion, a modest unpretending soldier, who during the earlier part of the administration of Warren Hastings commanded one of the brigades of the army in Bengal. In that capacity he took part in the subjection to Oudh of the Rohillas, an enterprise which was made by Sir Philip Francis and Edmund Burke one of their chief engines for blackening the fair fame of perhaps the greatest man who has ever ruled India for Britain. Macaulay, somewhat blindly, as was his wont in his earlier days, allowed himself to be carried away by ignorant enthusiasm, and repeated all the allegations of Burke and Francis in his *Essay on Warren Hastings*—just as he echoed their libels on the character of Sir Elijah Impey. Thanks to his heedless enthusiasm, the malignancy of Francis, and the lack of judgment of Burke, the story is believed to this day, and Hastings is most unjustly branded as a tyrant who, for filthy lucre, destroyed the liberty of a free and noble race.

That is the story. Here are the facts. When the Moghul Empire fell to pieces after 1712, amid a chaos of internal anarchy and foreign invasion, the region lying to the east and north-east of Delhi, beyond the

Ganges, was conquered and occupied by a horde of Afghans, largely of the warlike Yusufzai tribe, who imposed themselves as rulers upon the peaceful Hindu peasantry. To the south of them lay the wealthy and fertile state of Oudh, ruled, when Warren Hastings became Governor-General, by the Nawáb or, as the English called him, the "Nabob" Shuj-au-d-daula, who held the title of Grand Vizier of the Moghul Empire. According to Indian standards he was by no means a bad ruler. He had helped to defeat the Maráthas at the famous battle of Panipat and, on the whole, had managed to protect his dominions from their ever-recurring raids. He had come in contact with the British, and had acquired a wholesome respect for them, with the result that during the latter part of his reign he kept the peace and entertained friendly relations with the Government of Calcutta. As he was a wealthy monarch his financial resources were more than once of service to his allies.

This was the state of affairs in 1772. The Rohillas had been harassed by the Maráthas and, finding themselves unable to repel their enemies single-handed, they applied for aid to Shuj-au-d-daula. The terms were that he should bring an army to their assistance, for the expenses of which they should pay a subsidy of forty *lakhs* of rupees—say £400,000 in gold value. The Nawáb fulfilled his share of the agreement, but not so the Rohilla chiefs, and he was left with a large monetary loss and a legitimate grievance against them.

This was the beginning. In the same year Warren Hastings, who was confronted with a big deficit of revenue, offered to sell to the Nawáb the cities of

Allahabad and Korah, which we had temporarily occupied, for fifty *lakhs* of rupees. Shuj-au-d-daula cordially agreed and took the opportunity to explain his grievance against the Rohillas, and to ask that when he should declare war on them he should have the assistance of a British brigade, whose expenses he would defray during the campaign. Hastings readily consented, for sound statesmanlike reasons—it was obviously to the advantage of the British that there should be upon their north-west frontier a single strong state under a friendly ruler, instead of two, one of which (the Rohilla area) was not friendly, and capable of becoming a serious danger. That the Nawáb of Oudh was prepared to pay for the assistance rendered a subsidy of £400,000 was, of course, an additional incentive.

That was the political side of the question. On the moral side, Burke and Francis were eloquent in their denunciation of the pact, and Macaulay simply echoed them blindly. The facts are that Shuj-au-d-daula had a legitimate grievance against the Rohillas, who had treated him very shabbily, and that from the average political view-point he was justified in attacking them. He was a loyal and useful ally of the British (which the Rohillas were not), and was prepared to pay liberally for active assistance from them. It has been said that the subjects of the Rohillas were peculiarly happy and well-governed. Actually there is not a shred of reason to believe that the administration of these intruding chieftains was in any sense above the low average of the times, or that the Hindu villagers were in any sense worse off by transference from



their rule to that of Shuj-au-d-daula. That is not to say that the Nawáb was better than the average Indian dynast of the age, but he seems to have been a fair ruler from the Oriental standpoint. Macaulay's idyllic portrayal of happy Rohilcund is pure imagination, like some more of his brilliant pictures of men and events—he sometimes shows himself quite devoid of the critical faculty.

To support the Nawáb of Oudh was sent a British brigade under Colonel Champion, who played in the campaign a part highly honourable, both as a soldier and a gentleman. The Rohilla chiefs, seeing their fate upon them, made desperate promises. But the faithlessness of Afghans is proverbial, and the angry Nawáb was not to be gulled again. A battle took place in which the Rohillas fought with all the courage of their warlike race, and showed themselves more than a match for the Oudh troops. But Champion's disciplined battalions turned the tide, and Rohilcund was annexed to Oudh. Then Champion distinguished himself most honourably in using his influence with the Nawáb to suppress excesses among his disorderly soldiery. He was successful; order was quickly restored, and the Hindu villagers soon returned to the cultivation of their fields. That, in brief, is the story told by the time-worn tablet in Bath Abbey-Church. On the sober facts—always admitting that there was the smirch of diplomacy upon them—Burke's Irish imagination and Sir Philip Francis's diseased malignancy, aided by a quantity of Whiggish sentimentalism, built up a most portentous structure of fable.

Other monuments, though to more distinguished

men than Brigadier Steuart and Colonel Champion, must be passed over more briefly. Among those commemorated here are at least three admirals of the wars against Napoleon. First in order of time is Admiral Alan, Baron Gardner, who as rear-admiral took a distinguished share in the famous victory of 1st June, 1794, where his flag-captain was Cuthbert Collingwood. Gardner was a very typical British officer, who all his life did his duty excellently well, without rising to any especial height of brilliancy. His active service began in the Seven Years' War, and he fought in almost every great victory of the navy from 1755 to 1794. He was at Hawke's wonderful victory in Quiberon Bay, and in Rodney's triumph over de Grasse in 1782. In short he was one of those quiet persistent fighters who have always been the backbone of England's service—uninspired, it may be, but with a truly remarkable capacity for "doing their jobs."

With Lord Gardner lie two other warriors of the sea, both of whom were associated with Nelson in his last campaigns. Admiral Sir Richard Bickerton commanded in 1803-5 the squadron which blockaded the Spanish fleets in Cartagena, and so was not present at the triumph of Trafalgar—which was certainly unfortunate, for Nelson was short of assistants in that battle, and Bickerton was an officer of ability and energy. Not far away is the memorial of Admiral Sir William Hargood, who, as captain, took the *Belleisle* into action at Trafalgar immediately astern of Collingwood. He was for some time engaged alone against some three or more French and Spanish ships, and the losses of the *Belleisle* were heavier than those

of any vessel of her class in the fleet. When the next ship in Collingwood's "line of bearing" came up to her relief, she had not a mast standing. Her gallant captain survived, and lived to see Victoria on the throne, dying a full admiral and a G.C.B. in 1839, at the age of seventy-nine.

Among other warriors of the Napoleonic War must not be forgotten Lieutenant-General Sir Manley Power, who in the Peninsular War led the fine Portuguese Brigade which formed part of Picton's fighting Third Division. It was composed of two regiments, the Ninth and Twenty-first, each having two battalions, and fought, with great credit to itself, in almost every one of Wellington's victories from 1810 to 1814. In the end these Portuguese soldiers became so excellent that they fairly vied in good conduct with their English comrades. Wellington once, towards the close of the war, called them his "fighting cocks." This excellent result was very largely due to the British officers, who organised and trained the hardy docile peasants into good soldiers, and among these officers General Power ranked high. He died, little past middle life, in 1826. It has been stated that he furnished the model for Charles Lever's Colonel Power in *Charles O'Malley*, and it is known that many of Lever's characters are original and not imagined. Indeed, Lever would appear to have had very little true imagination, although he overflowed with Celtic sentimentality and excitement.

Elsewhere is to be seen the monumental tablet of John Campbell, Baron Cawdor, the hero of the famous Fishguard Expedition of 1797. Of that most foolish



and unclean enterprise of a nation which has an honourable name in legitimate war, the story is told in the volume of this series which treats of St. David's Cathedral.<sup>1</sup> Lord Cawdor was Lieutenant of Pembrokeshire when Chef-de-Brigade Tate landed near Fishguard with his command of convicts in uniform, and to his prompt audacity the speedy surrender of the mob of marauders was unquestionably due. There is no doubt at all that, had Carnot and Hoche sent as many good French soldiers as they sent galley-slaves, considerable mischief might have been done. By unflinching audacity and sheer bluff Cawdor simply scared Tate into unconditional surrender. The history of the affair reads now like a scene from comic opera, but it did not seem so to the gallant Scots Lord Lieutenant and his Welsh followers, and had the convict legionaries at the last plucked up sufficient spirit to stand and fight, they might very well have overpowered Cawdor's little force of coastguards and militia. The discovery in the cottages of quantities of wine lately salvaged from a wrecked vessel was the undoing of the undisciplined Frenchmen, but in spite of this the gallant Campbell deserves all credit for his fine display of boldness and resource.

One more monument must be noted, since it is that of a man very famous in his day, and whose influence is not extinct at the present time—Thomas Robert Malthus (1766–1834), the writer upon political economy, best known by his widely-read *Essay on Population*. There is no need to enter here into any detailed examination of the ideas set forth in this

<sup>1</sup> "St. David's, Llandaff and Brecon."

work; but, roughly speaking, Malthus made a strong stand against the sentimental theories regarding the evolution of a happy social economy which were so widely prevalent in his day, just as they seem to possess the minds of many at the present time. There was nothing very original in his views; he took up and developed ideas which had already been advanced by other writers, and the general opinion at present seems to be that, apart from useful exposition and historical discussion, it is difficult to say that Malthus made any powerful contribution to human knowledge. His main idea was that population grows more rapidly than means of subsistence and, among other things, dealt with the question of a "prudential check" upon a too rapid increase.

Malthus may have been overrated by his contemporaries, but that was in no sense due to himself. He was a very modest and very amiable man, singularly fair and open to reasonable argument, not easily ruffled, and unusually serene in the face of virulent criticism. He died suddenly at St. Catherine's, near Bath, on 23rd December, 1834, while spending Christmastide with his family at the house of his friend, Mr. Eckersall.

## CHAPTER VI

### MALMESBURY ABBEY—CHURCH

*The Beginnings of the Abbey—St. Aldhelm—His Splendid Buildings—A Many-sided Man—Aethelstan buried there—Roger le Poore's New Church—William of Malmesbury—Later Years—The Dissolution—Decay—Restoration of a Remnant—Beauty of the Situation—Description, Exterior, West Front—South Porch—Interior—Grand Norman and Transitional Work—The Tomb of Aethelstan—Minor Details and Curiosities*

**T**he beginnings of Malmesbury Abbey are placed with little question in the early part of the vii<sup>th</sup> century, when Maeldubh (Maeldulf), a Scottish—that is Irish—ecclesiastic and scholar, settled at the place which was henceforth to be known by his name. He was, for that age and country, a learned man, and his monastery became a school to which the English youths resorted for instruction. This, be it remembered, was in the middle of the agitated vii<sup>th</sup> century, when the various English princes were fighting fiercely for supremacy. That in such times a wandering scholar could found a school and attract scholars says volumes for the level of security and good order of the new nation which was then coming into being.



Among the boys who gathered to receive such instruction as Maeldulf could afford was Ealdhelm (Aldhelm), a member of the royal house of the Gewissæ. Aldhelm, as he will be called hereafter, is said by the chronicler Faricius to have been the son of "Kenten," who must apparently be identified with Centwine, King of the Gewissæ (or West Saxons) from 676 to 685. The dates, however, are rather difficult to reconcile, and there may very well have been some other Gewissan prince with a similar name. In any case there is no difficulty in believing that Aldhelm was of royal birth.

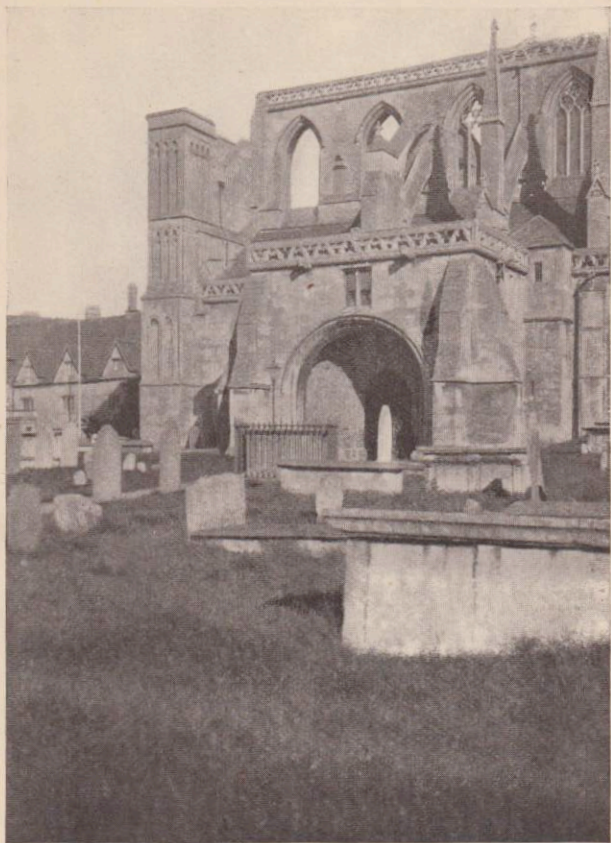
The curriculum of Maeldubh's school is unknown. William of Malmesbury says that it included philosophy and dialectics, but this is decidedly doubtful; certainly Aldhelm was weak in both, while on the other hand he was acquainted with Greek and Latin and claimed proficiency in arithmetic and the pseudo-astronomy of the age. It is rather doubtful if Maeldubh were acquainted with Greek; his instruction was probably confined to Latin and the Scriptures, together with such elements of mathematics and physical science as had then reached the West; but that he was a relatively cultured as well as pious man may readily be granted.

In 669 occurred an event of enormous importance in English history. The Greek Theodoros of Tarsus, selected as the Archbishop of Canterbury by Pope Vitalianus, reached England with his friend, the learned Abbot Hadrianus. One of their first steps was to establish the famous school at Canterbury, which for generations was the foremost centre of culture in

the west of Europe. To Canterbury went, among other aspirants, Aldhelm, and from Hadrian he must have learnt Hebrew and Greek. Theology was an inevitable part of the curriculum, but the Archbishop's seminary also gave instruction in Roman law and literature. It is noted that, though Aldhelm conscientiously strove to become proficient in arithmetic, he found it extremely difficult, and this seems natural in a man who delighted in music, singing and verse-making. Poetical gifts and mathematical proficiency are not often found in company with one another.

When Aldhelm left Canterbury he seems to have formed a school of his own, or at any rate a class in the school at Malmesbury. But he was not content with his attainments, and presently went back to study further under Hadrian. It was, perhaps, during this second sojourn that he made acquaintance with Hebrew. Somewhere about 675, Maeldubh, now in extreme old age, either died or abdicated, and Aldhelm was appointed as his successor by Chlothar (Eleutherius), the Bishop of the Gewissæ.

Aldhelm presided over the monastery and college for nearly thirty-four years, and during that period it may be said that Malmesbury was one of the great centres of learning in twilight Europe, excelled only by Canterbury. In Gaul and Visigothic Spain there were no such schools—not even in barbarised Italy could they be found. The light came to England directly from the Roman Empire of the East, which at so early a period exercised its beneficial influence upon this most remote of former Imperial provinces. How brilliant that light was can hardly be imagined.



G. H.

### THE FAMOUS SOUTH PORCH OF MALMESBURY ABBEY

The deeply-recessed Norman doorway has eight elaborately-sculptured members. The south turret of the ruined west end is an exceptionally fine conception.





It would not be contemptible to-day: in that age it must have been as a beacon-light amid the darkness of contemporary ignorance and barbarism. Bede says that he knew pupils of Theodore and Hadrian who were acquainted with Greek and Latin as with their mother-tongue. Aldhelm knew Hebrew as well. It was indeed a wonderful age, and England was far ahead of the rest of Western Europe in culture.

The influence of the Eastern Empire is extremely apparent in Aldhelm's literary style, which is often rather unpleasant, being intricate and full of Hellenisms, especially latinised Greek words. Apparently Aldhelm resembled Johnson in having one style for his serious literary compositions and another for private writing, or what he regarded as of less importance than his treatises. In his letters and verses his mode of expression is decidedly simpler and more pleasant.

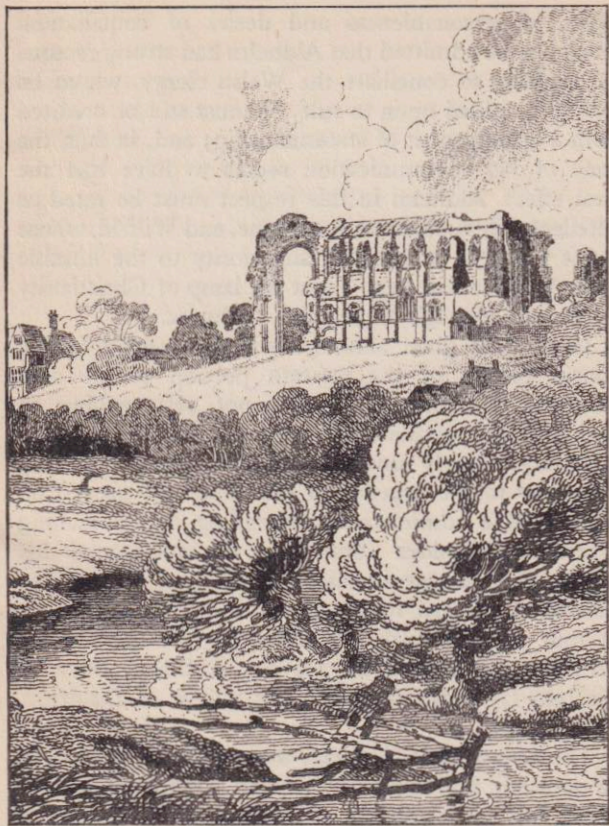
Aldhelm was much more than a mere ecclesiastic. There is no doubt that his counsel was of assistance to his kinsman, the great King Ine, whose rule over the Gewissæ was as an oasis in the somewhat dreary Sahara of the earlier rulers of "Wessex." He was a great builder, and his name is inextricably associated with the famous *ecclesiola* at Bradford-on-Avon. This, however, was a small thing beside the beautiful church which he built for his monastery, which, to judge from William of Malmesbury, must have rivalled or surpassed Wilfrid's basilica at Hexham. Two other churches were reared at Malmesbury by the great abbot, and when Ine created him Bishop of Sherborne, he there erected a cathedral which to

William seemed unsurpassed by many of the great ecclesiastical buildings of the xiiith century. Withal he was a poet and musician, and an eloquent speaker. He wrote in his native language no less than in Latin, and his English poems were favourites with King Alfred. Would that fortune had preserved for us some remains of these works which afforded delight to the greatest of the monarchs of England! But not a fragment has survived the vicissitudes of twelve centuries.

There must have been a very pleasant human side to the learned ecclesiastic who wrote treatises in eulogy of single blessedness and amused his leisure with music and song. One would give very much to see this earliest of English scholars passing a happy hour, like Alfred, with his harp, and improvising lays to the music which his fingers were drawing from the chords. There is a delightful story of how, finding that the people were averse from listening to sermons, he attracted and held their attention with minstrelsy into which he introduced sacred subjects.

Besides all this there is evidence that Aldhelm was a man of broad and statesmanlike views. His kinsman and monarch, Ine, had reduced to vassalage a large part of the independent Welsh of the south-west, and the problem of their ecclesiastical governance was one of great difficulty, the Welsh Church having incorporated sundry pagan Celtic usages, and also holding to an obsolete method of fixing the date of Easter. The king directed Aldhelm to draw up a sort of circular letter upon the subject. This the abbot did, and it must be said that it is decidedly a remarkable composition for the time, displaying a most creditable





THE RUINS OF MALMESBURY ABBEY-CHURCH AS THEY APPEARED  
IN 1807

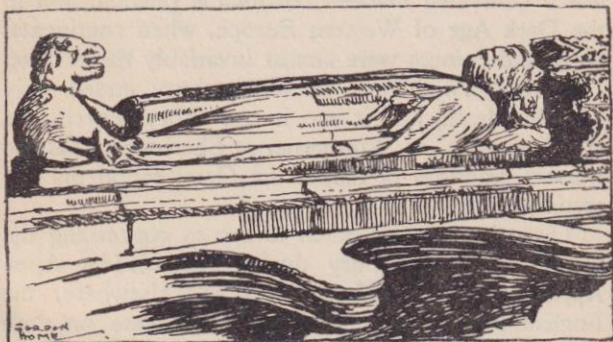
*From an engraving by J. C. Smith*

spirit of reasonableness and desire of conciliation. Even if it be admitted that Aldhelm had strong reasons for wishing to conciliate the Welsh clergy, whom he was to be called upon to rule, he must still be credited with a strong spirit of statesmanship; and, in fact, the tone of his communication seems to have had the best effect. Aldhelm in this respect must be rated as intellectually superior to Augustine, and Wilfrid, whose spirit was that of haughty superiority to the humble church which had kept alight the lamp of Christianity in Britain through three wild centuries.

In 705 the great abbot-prince was created by his cousin bishop of the western portion of his now extensive dominions. He was not very willing to exchange his studious life for that of a bishop of a wide and largely unsettled diocese, but eventually gave way to the urgency of the king, and proved an indefatigable administrator, travelling and preaching incessantly, besides continuing to superintend his monasteries, whose inmates begged him not to forsake them. It can hardly be wondered at that three or four years of such complex toil wore out the old man's strength, and in 709 St. Aldhelm, busy to the last, lay down to die in the village of Doultling, near Wells.

The Abbey of St. Aldhelm was, no doubt, as regards its domestic buildings, a somewhat humble establishment, but the statement of William of Malmesbury regarding the splendid churches of the monastery and the town is not to be questioned to any serious extent. King Aethelwulf, the pious (or pietistic) successor of Ecgbert, presented a silver casket or

shrine for the reception of the saint's relics, but it cannot be supposed that this escaped the ravages of the Vikings, which quickly supervened. Of the monarchs of England previous to the Norman Conquest, Aethelstan was unquestionably a great benefactor of the abbey. Some part of his interest may very well be attributed to the delight which, like his father and



THE EFFIGY WHICH MAY REPRESENT AETHELSTAN, THE GREAT ENGLISH WARRIOR-KING WHO WAS BURIED IN MALMESBURY ABBEY

grandfather, he took in literature. It must always be remembered that the kings and princes of the house of Alfred were not illiterate fighters and hunters, but well-educated men, who were able not merely to read books, but could also "mark, learn and inwardly digest them." Of Alfred's remarkable literary exertions much is known. Eadweard the Elder was a great reader, and both Alfred and Eadweard were interested in art. Of Aethelstan far too little is known, but there



is reason to believe that he also was something more than an average educated man: he certainly possessed a useful library. As late as 975, when the Golden Age was drawing to its close, a royal prince, Aethelweard, could actually, out of sheer pleasure in the occupation, compile a chronicle, not without historical value, and which shows in its very quaintnesses that the writer was a cultivated man—a remarkable phenomenon in the Dark Age of Western Europe, when continental kings and princes were almost invariably the reverse.

Aethelstan's interest in Malmesbury ended only with his death, and it was in the abbey-church, not at Winchester, or Wimborne, or Sherborne, that the warrior grandson of Alfred the Great found his last resting-place.

There is not very much to record concerning the history of Malmesbury during the Middle Ages. Apparently, as at Westminster and elsewhere, the English (*i.e.* pre-Conquest) buildings were on such a scale that no attempt was made to replace them when, in 1070, Turolde de Fécamp became the first Norman abbot. In fact it is clear that St. Aldhelm's church remained in use until about 1140 or perhaps later, although alongside of it was slowly rising the great building of which the ruins serve as the parish church of Malmesbury. It seems highly probable that it was commenced by Roger le Poore, Bishop of Salisbury, who obtained possession of the monastery and town in 1118, and retained them until his death in 1139. He certainly built a castle, and to him may be attributed the design of rebuilding the church on a magnificent scale. When it was commenced is un-

certain, and progress was probably interrupted at the great bishop's death. Certainly it was not completed until many years later.

The style of the nave, which according to the invariable method of construction, from east to west, followed in the Middle Ages, would be the last part of the church to be built, bears the mark, in the main arcades and triforium, of a period about 1150-1180. It is in all essentials Late Norman, just verging upon Transitional, as is shown by the slightly pointed arches of the main arcade. This would make it contemporary with, or a little later than, the choir of Canterbury Cathedral. But, despite the pointed arches, the characteristics are Norman, and not really Transitional. The west front is also Norman. All this points to an earlier date than 1180 for the greater part of the church, though additions were made in after ages. The western tower and the great central spire were probably of the Decorated period: the existing clerestory and vault certainly belong to that school of Gothic architecture.

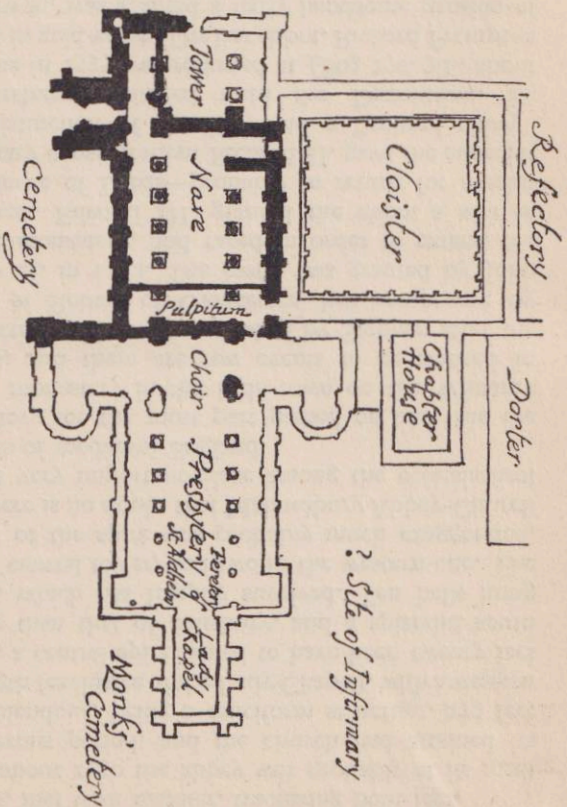
The most famous association of Malmesbury during the later Middle Ages was that with the historian who took his name from it. William of Malmesbury was, as Carlyle would have said, "no great things" of a historian: rather he was a journalist—a collector of stories and legends, often with too slight regard to their actual value. Yet in some respects he is a primary authority, and he had access to the libraries of Glastonbury and Malmesbury, which must have contained certain documentary authorities since lost. As a historian, however, he hardly stands

on a higher plane than many other mediæval writers. He is more valuable and interesting in the *Gesta Pontificum*, for, though he is just as guilty of collecting and retailing "old wives' tales," his sketches of town and landscape show that he had made personal acquaintance with a large part of his native country.

William was a Norman-Englishman, and like a good many of his race was inclined to emphasise his English blood; he was particularly proud of the fact that he was a countryman of St. Dunstan. His mixed origin was of peculiar service to him, for he had command of two languages, beside the Latin with which, as a monk, he was familiar. Also there is no doubt that, whatever his defects, he honestly desired to accumulate materials, and upon them to build up a solid structure of reliable history. He procured "histories of foreign nations," and there exists a collection of abridgments and excerpts of ancient authors made by him—one of them a transcript of the *Breviarium Alarici*, the Visigothic code drawn up at the beginning of the viith century by Alaric II. The interest of William's works is now literary rather than historical, but they contain much which is valuable as history; and it is certain that he wrote with a high purpose, though between intention and practice there was a considerable gap.

It might be added that, according to Fuller, a monk of the Abbey of Malmesbury, named Oliver, was one of the earliest English students of the science of aviation. He had constructed wings, fitted with some kind of propulsive machinery, which, as ever until the xxth century, proved too weak, so that Father





PLAN OF MALMESBURY ABBEY. The portions which exist are shown solid black.  
*Redrawn from the plan in the Abbey Guide, by permission of the churchwardens and Mr. J. Kiddick of Malmesbury*

Oliver, attempting a flight from one of the church towers, met with disaster, fracturing both legs.

By about 1350 the abbey was probably at its most prosperous period, and the church had attained its full splendour, being a cruciform structure, 279 feet in length (exclusive of the Lady Chapel), with a western tower, a central spire fabled to have been twenty feet higher than that of Salisbury, and a splendid south porch, which has happily survived. Ten bells hung in the central tower, and two in the western one. The height of the spire was probably much exaggerated, but there is no doubt that Malmesbury Abbey-Church held a very important place among the ecclesiastical edifices of mediæval England.

History for the most part passed on one side the grand monastery in the little town on the Wiltshire downs, and there are few events to be noticed in connection with it. It was taken by Stephen after the death of Robert of Gloucester, but recaptured by Henry II. in 1152. The castle was granted by John to the monastery, and razed in order to extend the precincts. Edward III. granted the abbot a seat in the House of Lords—probably in return for a solid monetary consideration. Richard II. gave the superior the distinction of a mitre, and a “mitred abbey” Malmesbury remained until the Dissolution. Its revenue in 1535 was returned at £803 17s. 7d., about £6500 in gold value. The last abbot, Richard Frampton or Selwyn, was granted a fairly handsome pension of £133 6s. 8d. per annum, while most of the monks appear to have received £6 per annum apiece.

At the Dissolution the entire abbey was bought by

## The Abbey Bought by a Clothier 139

William Stumpe, a wealthy clothier of Gloucestershire, for £1500. He turned the domestic buildings into a cloth-weaving factory, but presented the nave of the church to the town for public worship in place of the old parish church of St. Paul, which was dilapidated and used for secular purposes. Of the precise condition of the abbey-church there is no information, but the central spire had fallen some years previously, and the entire edifice was somewhat ruinous. It suffered much during the Great Civil War, when Malmesbury was taken and retaken by the contending forces of King and Parliament in the Gloucester region, which was a veritable "Debateable Land." The rejoicings of the Malmesburians at the "Blessed Restoration" of 1660 brought fresh disaster upon it, for the *feu de joie* delivered upon that occasion caused the collapse of much of the central tower. Browne Willis, writing in 1718, says that the fragment between the two fallen towers, about 140 feet in length, was all which remained of the fabric.

In 1905 the surviving fragment was taken in hand for restoration by Dr. Forrest Browne, Bishop of Bristol, and at a cost of some £5000 much good and useful work was effected. The splendid Transitional and Norman arcades were put into good repair, and though a certain amount of "restoration" was carried out in order to fit the building as the parish church, yet it is proper to say that it was carefully executed in harmony with the existing architecture.

Malmesbury has in itself much of interest, containing many old houses and some picturesque inns, much patronised by farmers and dealers at the cattle



fairs, which still render this little town a place of considerable local importance. It consists principally of one long street, ending in a small open space, in the centre of which stands the delightful old Market Cross, with beyond it the still stately and beautiful fragment of what was once one of the finest monastic churches in England.

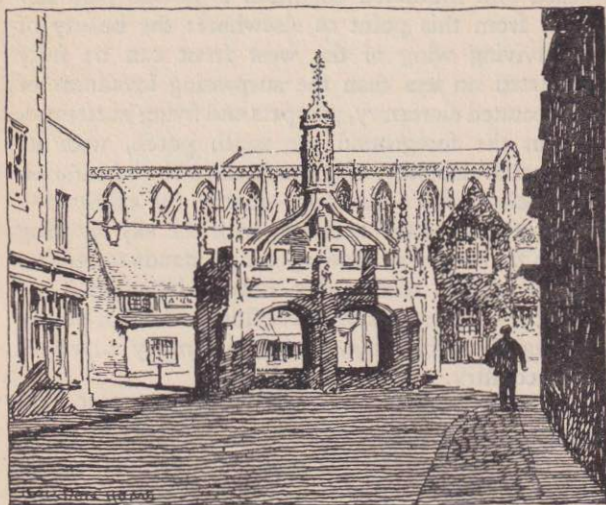
This fragment consists of the southern limb of the once magnificent west front, the splendid south porch, and six complete bays of the nave and aisles. Originally there were nine bays, but the western three were destroyed by the fall of the tower at this end of the church, so that they are now represented only by the three bays of the south aisle which connect the principal fragment with the remains of the west front. At the east end there yet remains the west wall of the south transept, and a portion of one of the great piers of the central tower. The rest of the once splendid monastery is represented by odd remnants built up in the houses of the town, and by barely distinguishable ground-plans.

The church is so situated that in the days of its glory it must have afforded one of the most impressive views in England. To this the picturesqueness of the site of the town contributes much. Malmesbury lies upon a sort of "hog's back" peninsula between two rivulets, which unite near the south end of the town to form the Avon.<sup>1</sup> The main street follows the crest of the ridge, which rises as it proceeds from south to north, while on both sides the slopes fall away to the streams. At the crown of the rise, near the north end

<sup>1</sup> The Somersetshire Avon—that which flows by Bradford, Bath and Bristol.

## The Position of the Abbey-Church 141

of the town, stands the abbey-church, and beyond it the ground falls rather sharply to a narrow valley from the farther side of which the effect of the grey fane crowning its hill is still fine, and must once have been truly magnificent. Indeed, from almost any point



THE GRACEFUL LITTLE MARKET CROSS OF MALMESBURY WITH  
THE NAVE OF THE ABBEY-CHURCH BEYOND

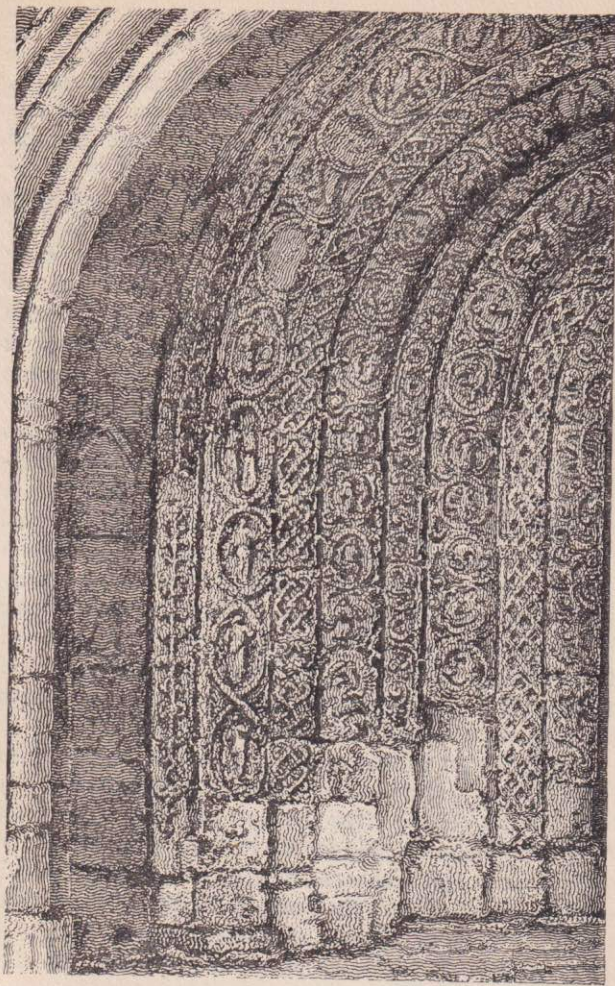
of the compass the church dominates the town. One curiously impressive prospect may be obtained from the High Street, taking station about fifty yards from the debouch to the ancient market-place. The houses on either side form, as it were, a sort of portal. Between them appears a satisfying group of quaint old houses

with the Market Cross in the front, and behind rises the mass of the church, flung athwart the view like a fortress rampart.

The most satisfactory view of the church at close quarters is probably that from the south-west. Its wrecked and mutilated condition is not so painfully evident from this point as elsewhere: the beauty of the surviving wing of the west front can be fully appreciated no less than the surpassing loveliness of the Decorated clerestory, parapets and flying buttresses, while in the foreground the south porch, with its unsurpassed doorway, displays itself to the admiration of the beholder. To the right—that is, the eastward—the gaunt wall of the transept, with the sky showing through the empty window openings, stands to remind one that what is seen to-day, beautiful though it be, is no more than a remnant of a building which in beauty and magnitude had not, in its day, many superiors in our country.

THE WEST FRONT must have been a jewel of Late Norman art; the surviving wing is sufficient to prove so much. It seems to have been planned as a central tower, with wing screens on both sides flanked by turrets. A similar plan was followed at Ely, and it would seem that the uninspired builders who erected the west front of Salisbury Cathedral had that of Malmesbury in their minds. The survey of the Malmesbury remnant is a melancholy business, for it seems only to remind the observer of the irreparable loss to British art caused by the ruin of the façade. The flanking turret is, without exaggeration, one of the most exquisite examples of the Late Norman school





DETAILS OF THE ENRICHMENT OF THE LATE NORMAN OUTER  
DOORWAY OF THE PORCH OF MALMESBURY ABBEY-CHURCH

*From a drawing by Thomas Hearne published in 1806*

of art in England, if not in Europe. It has four stages, the lowest being plain, while the upper three are enriched with blind arcading of the most graceful order. That of the third and fourth stages is of exquisite delicacy. The one defect in the turret seems to be that the final story is rather too tall, while that below it is not quite high enough to afford perfectly harmonious proportions. But otherwise it is difficult to find a fault: the restraint and dignity of the design are just as apparent as its beauty: there is nothing of the riot of ornamentation which is so obvious in some Late Norman churches. The west front of Malmesbury Abbey-Church was very clearly one of the most perfect monuments to the genius of a school of Norman-English artists, who might not be able to produce buildings so lovely as those of the succeeding Gothic periods, but who possessed one grand qualification which their successors lacked — that of designing splendid and beautiful façades. There seems to have been something in Romanesque art which appealed to all which was best in the British æsthetic soul, and evoked from it conceptions finer than anything which it succeeded in producing in Gothic style.

THE SOUTH PORCH is always counted the glory of Malmesbury, and under present conditions it certainly is, yet as regards true beauty the west front was probably superior. But for all that the portal is one of the most glorious monuments of its period in the world. I have seen many lovely Norman doorways in England from Tweed to Tamar, and from Solway to Dover Strait, but I know of none which surpasses this of Malmesbury.



Its special feature is that the architect dispensed with columns. The deeply-recessed entry consists of eight concentric members enveloping the beautifully contoured doorway. Five of the members have elaboration of interlaced design, while the second, fourth and sixth are covered with medallions, seventy-eight in number, sculptured with episodes of Biblical history.

The innermost or sixth of these medallion bands—that nearest to the door—has twenty-eight subjects, illustrating the early chapters of Genesis. Several of them are defaced, but it is quite clear that they commence with the Creation and continue to the murder of Abel by Cain.

The central band—the fourth member of the whole design—is not so closely connected as the sixth. Its first four medallions appear to describe the punishment of Cain. The next four deal with the Flood; the following with the sacrifice of Isaac. Then succeed five which illustrate disconnected episodes in the life of Moses, and three describing the life and captivity of Samson. Of the remaining ten, two are damaged, but there is practically no doubt that they, like the rest, treat of the life of David.

The second member has suffered more than the other two medallion-bands: six of its twenty-three subjects have been hopelessly defaced. But a study of the remainder renders it evident that the whole series dealt with the coming of Christ, and (probably) the preaching of the Gospel.

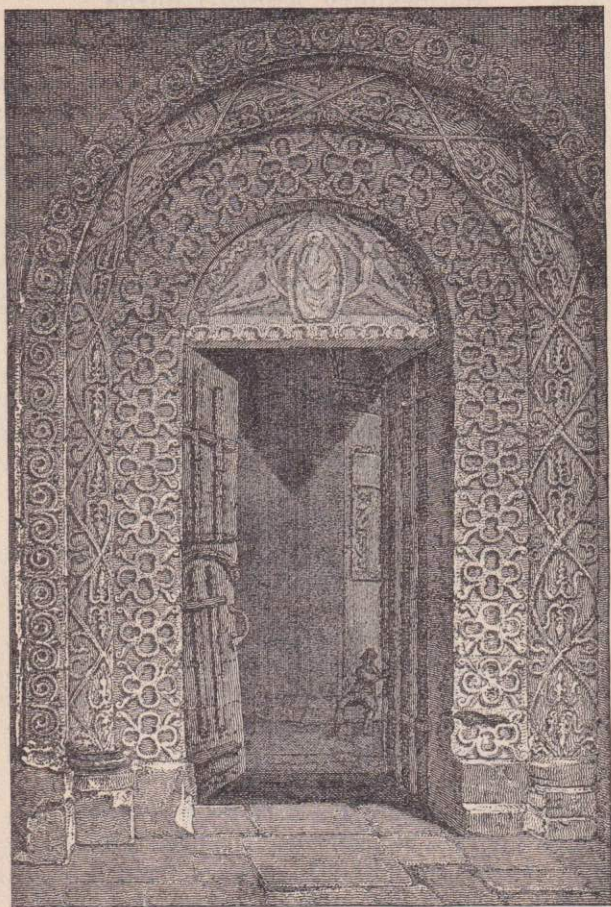
Within the porch are twelve quaint and curious representations of the Apostles, six on either side,



surmounting a blind arcade, while in the tympanum of the inner doorway is a figure of the Saviour attended by angels. The figures of the Apostles are said to be from the church of St. Aldhelm, but it is well to be cautious before deciding. They are curious, somewhat archaic, but there is nothing distinctively "Saxon" about them: they may just as well belong to the beginning of the XIIth century as to the VIIIth, and there does not appear to be any satisfactory evidence to prove that they are of the earlier epoch.

This is the opinion of no less an authority than the late Sir Thomas Jackson, and on such a subject his views are of great importance. Yet in regard to the sculpture of Christ and the angels over the inner doorway, it is difficult to believe that they are later than the pre-Norman period. The archaism of the figures may mean little, but their pose is most intriguing—they look as if they were copied from a Byzantine fabric, and they resemble those in the church of St. Laurence at Bradford-on-Avon. It seems quite possible that in this curious sculptured relief we have an authentic relic of the wonderful period—670–740—when art and literature enjoyed a veritable Golden Age in Early England.

THE INTERIOR. Entering by the porch there lies before us the imposing remnant of what was once one of the finest interiors in England. There are, as has been already noted, six bays. The main arcade has Transitional arches resting upon turret-like piers, which resemble those of Hereford Cathedral, and give the same impression of vast and enduring strength.



THE HIGHLY ENRICHED INNER DOOR OF THE SOUTH PORCH OF  
MALMESBURY ABBEY-CHURCH

*From a drawing by J. C. Smith*

It is, no doubt, a matter of personal sentiment, but these huge and massive piers of the Romanesque period make to me an irresistible appeal. They radiate strength—they seem as if they could bear up the very vault of heaven, and as if they would endure for all time.

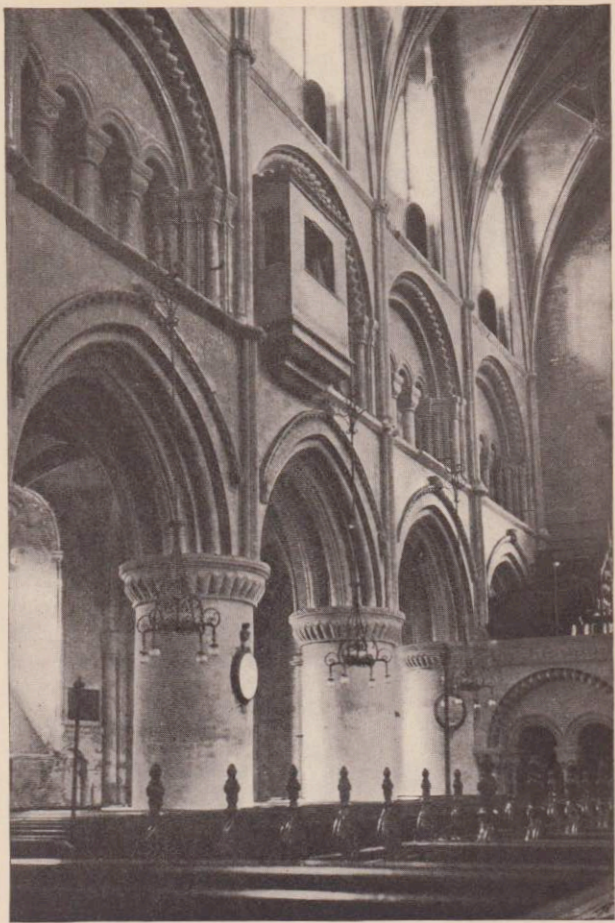
Upon these majestic arcades stands the Norman triforium, consisting of six bays on either side, each containing a fine sweeping arch, with zig-zag moulding on its outer member, springing from a group of dwarf columns, and enveloping a quadruple dwarf arcade. This arcade intrigues me: it is oddly archaic. It looks much earlier than the enveloping arch, and its general appearance is such that the columns at least may be "Saxon" or, at any rate, Saxon remodellings. I am sceptical regarding some other traditional Saxon work in the church, but it is just possible that in the triforium there is some material from St. Aldhelm's building re-used in the thrifty mediæval (and modern) fashion.

From the third bay on the north side projects a watching-gallery, clumsy and poor as regards style. Except for the interest attaching to it as a relic of monastic life, it might well be removed—its interposition in the beautiful triforium is an offence to the eye.

Upon the triforium stands the lofty clerestory, with windows of most admirable outline, filled with tracery which is emblematic of the stage of transition from Early English to Decorated. They are most delightful, having just enough in them of the formality of Early English to give the steadiness which is some-







G. H.

THE SOUTH SIDE OF THE NAVE OF MALMESBURY ABBEY-CHURCH

It is a magnificent example of Transitional Norman at its best, the turret-like piers having an unadorned dignity which is unsurpassed. The watching oriel is a very late insertion.

times wanting to the flowing lines of the exuberant Decorated school.

From the capitals ("parapets" might almost be a fitting description) of the main piers spring the vaulting shafts, from which diverge the ribs of the beautiful groined vault, as fine as anything of the Decorated period in western England. The contour is excellent, and the bosses are delightful.

The aisles retain their ancient Norman vaulting, which springs on one side directly from the capital-parapets of the huge cylindrical piers; on the other from pilasters set against the outer walls. These pilasters, though very simple, are decidedly graceful, having something of the feeling of a Corinthian column, although the capitals are perhaps a trifle too heavy. The majority of the windows in the aisles are also Norman, but on the south side there are two Decorated openings, somewhat bizarre and not by any means good examples of that joyous school of English Gothic art. In the north aisle there is one tall Decorated window, to accommodate which a Decorated dormer has been inserted into the Norman vault. This, no doubt, marked the fitting up of a chapel in the aisle, and there are traces of the screen on the capital of the adjoining pier.

THE NORMAN TOWER ARCH at the east end of the nave has been built up. It incorporates the remains of the ancient screen or pulpitum, which still forms the reredos of the church, though its central door is, of course, blocked up. At the south side of the altar is the traditional tomb of King Aethelstan, the golden-haired son of the warrior, Eadweard the Elder, and



grandson of Alfred the Great, the hero of Brunanburh, the mighty *Basileus Totius Britanniae*, "Lord of lords, and bestower of bracelets."

Of all the great monarchs of England there is none of whom the historian would more gladly learn much, not one of whom so little which is historically satisfactory is known. We can obtain from the chronicles only some faint impression of a powerful dominating personality, a statesman and organiser like his grandfather, a warrior like his father and all his house, a man who in his hours of leisure delighted in reading. That Aethelstan *Basileus* gained over a far-reaching confederacy of foes the greatest victory in the history of England before the Norman Conquest is the one fact concerning which there is absolutely no uncertainty. That victory was obtained in 937 at Brunanburh, the locality of which has yet to be determined. It may have been on the Solway or the Ribble, for the defeated host was made up of a confederacy of rebel Danes of Northumbria, of Scots led by their king, Constantine, and finally Danes from Ireland, who returned, according to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*:

A dreary remnant,  
On the roaring sea;  
Over deep water  
Dublin they sought,  
And Ireland's shores,  
In great disgrace.

Aethelstan died at Gloucester, but there is no reason to doubt that he was buried at Malmesbury.

The tomb in Malmesbury Abbey-Church is of a date some four centuries later than Aethelstan, but it

may very well have been executed to replace an earlier one. It is plain and very slightly adorned. Upon the slab is a crowned effigy, the head supported by angels and the feet resting upon a lion. Above the crowned head is a Decorated canopy, and its position invites the suggestion that this statue may once have occupied an upright position, and was transferred at a later date to this tomb. The sepulchre is unlikely to occupy its original situation, and it is by no means certain that it enshrines the bones of the warrior-king. Only this is certain—that somewhere within the former area of the abbey-church there repose the mortal remains of the victorious grandson of Alfred the Great.

THE ORGAN deserves a word of notice. It was originally built by Abraham Jordan, in 1714, for the church of St. Benet Fink in London, the cost, £400, being defrayed by a Mrs. Sarah Gregory. More than a century later it was transferred to Bath, and ultimately drifted into a furniture-dealer's store, where it was found in 1846, and bought for Malmesbury Abbey, the purchase price being £100.

THE FONT. The upper portion of the font is said to be "Saxon," and I am not so sceptical upon the point as I am regarding the statuary of the south porch. It is a bowl with its sides decorated with plain blind arcading on a very small scale, approximating to fluting. The pedestal is later, but the bowl itself has all the appearance of antiquity, though whether it is really older than Bishop Roger's church it would be difficult to decide.

THE PORCH MUSEUM. In the parvise chamber of the south porch are some interesting relics of the

abbey, including a Vulgate MS. Bible in four volumes, a copy of a Breeches Bible, a silver penny of Eadweard the Confessor coined at Malmesbury, and a pulpit hour-glass. Elsewhere in the church are to be seen the XVIIIth-century fire-engine, with its primitive hand-appliances and leather buckets; also the remains of the stocks. There are also sundry architectural fragments, including an unused coffin slab, which may date from the XIIIth century, and some encaustic tiles from the cloister.



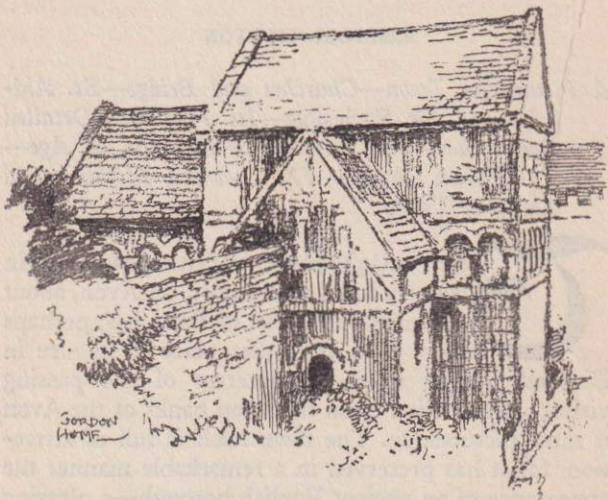
## CHAPTER VII

### BRADFORD-ON-AVON

*A Picturesque Town—Churches and Bridge—St. Aldhelm and his Ecclesiola—Its Fortunes—Detailed Description—The Bas-reliefs—Estimate of Age—The Parish Church—The Steward, Methuen and Shrapnel Tombs.*

**T**he delightfully picturesque little country town of Bradford-on-Avon, about ten miles south-east of Bath, has, perhaps more than any other place of its size in England, claims upon the interest of the passing visitor. Its situation upon the steep banks of the Avon is most picturesque. The town itself is full of attraction, for it has preserved in a remarkable manner the appearance of an ancient English borough—a pleasing jumble of houses and streets crowded together by the side of the river, without any apparent plan save that which arose out of the inclination and convenience of successive generations. The streets are narrow, steep and winding—not at all adapted for modern automobile traffic. Very many of the houses are ancient and interesting. In the centre of the crowded little town an ancient bridge, with its chapel still surviving, spans the babbling Avon. Lastly, it possesses probably the

most ancient, certainly the most perfect and artistically interesting relic of pre-Norman-English architecture—the venerable little church of St. Laurence—believed to have been founded by St. Aldhelm, the earliest of English scholars and writers.



THE SAXON CHURCH OF BRADFORD-ON-AVON FROM THE NORTH

The arcading which adorns the walls is an interesting feature. The pilasters (lowest stage) do not show well from this point.

There is no doubt of the antiquity of Bradford as a site; since it lay at the ford of the Avon there is likely to have been a settlement there at a very early epoch. But it is not mentioned in history before about 652. That mention is of a highly interesting character. It records that at Bradford a battle was fought between Cœnwalch of the Gewissæ and the "Welsh." Presum-

ably it was a victory for the English, since the early English chroniclers, like those who prepare official reports of battles in the present age, had a rooted dislike of recording defeats. But it is a rather significant battlefield. Nominally Bath had been in the possession of the Gewissæ for some seventy years, since Ceawlin's famous victory at Deorham in 582.<sup>1</sup> Yet here we find the Welsh fighting the invaders at a place well to the east of the City of the Springs. The student who endeavours to regard the historical perspective with steadiness and impartiality, and not to be attracted by brilliant and seductive theories, is rather forced to the conclusion that for a very long time after the nominal conquest of a certain district, the hold of the invaders upon it was of a precarious nature. Indeed, it seems likely enough that although Ceawlin sacked *Aquæ Sulis* he was unable to retain it. In any case we must accept the evidence of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* that seventy years after the battle of Deorham the Britons could still invade nominally English territory. Bradford must have been in those days a somewhat uneasy place of residence.

It cannot be said that anything approaching to a condition of stability prevailed in the valley of the Avon until the accession of the great King Ine in 688. Ine was the first ruler of "Wessex" who was able to introduce some appearance of order into a most anarchic and incoherent state, and it may be assumed that it was during his rule that Ealdhelm—"St. Aldhelm" as he is usually called—built and endowed a

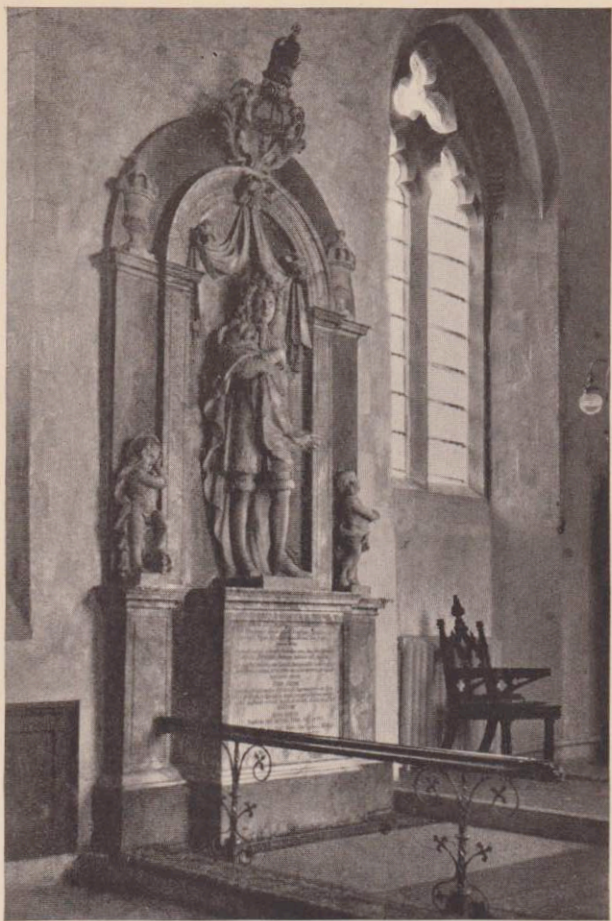
<sup>1</sup> This date is that claimed by Mr. Edward Foord in *The Last Age of Roman Britain*.



religious establishment of some kind by the ford of the Avon. The traditional date is 705, and this is probable enough, for by that year Ine had undoubtedly consolidated his hold over the West, and Aldhelm could constitute a religious body and build a church without much fear of interruption from Welsh raiders.

Since St. Aldhelm's especial connection is with Malmesbury, his deeds and personality are dealt with in the account of the ruins of that famous abbey. The principal point here to be noticed is that he had a great reputation as a magnificent builder. As far as can be ascertained, his erections equalled or surpassed those of the splendid Wilfrid in the north. William of Malmesbury says that his church of St. Mary at Malmesbury surpassed all the churches which had been built in old time in England. The cathedral church at Sherborne excited the great admiration of William, although there were the stately buildings of the Norman period to furnish a standard of comparison. There is no special reason to doubt that between about 670 and 720 there was a remarkable burst of artistic activity in England. Nor is there any reason to question the accuracy of William's statement that this small church (*ecclesiola*) was built by Aldhelm. The manner in which he alludes to it shows that he did not consider it as in any sense remarkable. It was a "little church," not comparable with the greater buildings erected or inspired by the famous bishop. And, says William, "there is to this day in that place the little church which he is stated to have built and dedicated to St. Laurence."

This little church, or *ecclesiola*, probably served all



G. H.

THE MONUMENT TO CHARLES STEWARD IN BRADFORD-ON-AVON  
PARISH CHURCH

He claimed to be the son, born in lawful wedlock, of Charles II. According to the family pedigree he was the son of Dr. Richard Steward (Clerk of the Closet to Charles I.) by the daughter of Sir William Button of Tokenham.





the purposes of the village beside the Avon for several centuries. But by about 1100 the village was growing into something like a small town. In *Domesday Survey* it is rated as a "burh," with forty-two hides belonging to it, which indicates a population, free and enslaved, of some hundreds at least. In 1295 it was called upon to send two representatives to Parliament, a privilege or burden which was not continued. But the circumstance shows that Bradford was counted as a place of some local importance, and the *ecclesiola* of St. Aldhelm would certainly not have sufficed for its needs. In the XIIIth century a parish church upon an appropriate scale was built close by, and this edifice, which stands at the present day, very heavily restored and much altered, must have superseded the smaller and more ancient building. The latter, however, probably continued to be used for religious purposes until the Reformation. After this it was left derelict and converted to various usages. For a time it was used as a dwelling-house, the nave was divided into two stories by a rough wooden floor, and rustic constructions of various materials designed for various purposes were erected against it. Of this desecration there are very clear traces. On the wall of the north porch may be observed the outline of the roof of the rude annexe which was added to the ancient building on this side, and in the interior are to be observed the holes cut in the walls to receive the ends of the floor joists.

The last end of the now ruinous building was at any rate less ignominious than the first, for it was employed as a school-house. But its walls were nearly hidden from sight by the extraneous additions heaped

upon them, and by the middle of the xixth century it had so lost all recognisable signs of its ecclesiastical origin that it required a trained and discerning eye to distinguish it from the ordinary stone-built cottage architecture of the neighbourhood.

The ancient building was indeed in a melancholy plight. At this stage the public spirit of Canon Jones, the rector of the adjoining parish church, came to the rescue, and the ancient edifice was relieved of its disfigurements and restored with care and discrimination, so that it stands to-day an intact and almost unique memorial of a very obscure period, which was yet in some respects a most glorious one—the age of great churchmen who were also artists and writers—Wilfrid, Benedict Biscop, Aldhelm, Bede.

It seems expedient, before discussing the problems presented by the church, to describe the building itself. It stands near the foot of a steep slope running down to the Avon, the present parish church being only a few yards distant. It consists of three perfectly distinct members, nave, chancel and north porch, which communicate with one another only by narrow doorways. The internal dimensions of the nave are about 27 feet by 15; those of the choir, 14 by 11; while the porch is between 10 and 11 feet square. The height of the nave is more than twice its breadth. The same proportions, roughly, are observed in the choir, but as this is narrower than the nave, its roof is considerably lower, though quite as lofty in proportion. The roof of the porch is rather less lofty in proportion to width. The edifice thus consists of three absolutely distinct members differing in height and pitch of

roof. It seems probable, on the strength of analogy, that there was originally a south porch. The walls are of a fairly uniform thickness of about two and a half feet.

The church is built of good large masonry, very smoothly dressed on both sides and admirably laid, with fine mortar joints. Naturally the restoration has enforced the insertion of a certain amount of new stone, but the great bulk of the work is that which was executed by the builders of the ancient church, and it can only be said that it cannot be bettered. If it be of the VIIIth century—and I shall presently endeavour to show that there is no reason to doubt this—then the English masons of that period had little to learn. It is infinitely superior to the rude coarse work in the Norman cathedral of Winchester.

Externally the *ecclesiola* is enriched in a remarkable and somewhat elaborate fashion. The first and lowest stage consists of a continuous band carried round the building at a height of about ten feet, the space below being divided into bays by perfectly plain pilasters. Above this, in the case of the nave and choir, is a second stage, composed of shallow blind arcading upon short pilasters, some of which are plain and others fluted. Each pair of these blind arches corresponds to a single bay of the lowermost stage. The second stage of the porch being lower than those of the nave and choir has only square-headed compartments. The nave, which is loftier than the other two members, has a third stage, but it has been left plain except that the corner pilasters are carried up to the eaves of the roof. This scheme of ornamentation is not *imposed*



upon the walls, but has been executed in sunk relief upon the ashlar masonry.

The north doorway is a narrow stilted archway without columns, but with blocks inserted horizontally at the head of the jambs to give the effect of pilasters and with a complete external band. It is not symmetrically in the centre of the front, and may be a somewhat later addition. On the other hand the



#### VERY EARLY SCULPTURED REPRESENTATIONS OF

These bas-reliefs are high upon the wall above

unsymmetrical placing of the door may have been a mere piece of fantasy. The inner doors are similar, being very narrow in proportion to their height, with high stilted arches. The entrance to the choir has an elaboration to its arch consisting of an outer band of three concentric flutings.

**THE ANGEL BAS-RELIEFS.** High up in the wall which separates the nave from the choir are two very remarkable bas-reliefs, each representing an angel with hands outstretched as if to support some object. They face

towards one another, and the inference is that between them, originally, was a cross.

These reliefs are the most remarkable features of a nearly unique building. They do not correspond in all details, and one—that to the right—displays, perhaps more advanced, or, it would be better to say, less immature, artistry. The figures are bearded and long-haired, and each wears a diadem or fillet. Each is clothed in



ANGELS IN THE SAXON CHURCH OF BRADFORD-ON-AVON  
the chancel arch and deserve the closest study.

a garment reaching to the ankles and girt with a girdle wound two or three times round the waist. Each appears to have a short cloak or scarf, which floats out as he swoops downward upon outspread wings. The legs are bent sharply and awkwardly backward from the knees to give the effect of flight—the figure on the right is better poised than its fellow.

The oddest feature is that the right-hand figure is intended to be clothed in transparent drapery—a most quaint fancy. There seems, however, to be no doubt

of it. The folds of the clothing of the left-hand figure are very clearly and elaborately indicated; but in the case of its fellow the legs from the knee downward are depicted as showing through the transparent robe, the nature of which is still further emphasised by what is clearly intended to be a foam of filmy drapery about the ankles. Also there is what looks like an attempt to delineate the curve of a hip. It is all very odd and highly interesting, and I advise all archæological observers to study these carvings very closely through field-glasses. One might be disposed to discredit the evidence of one's eyesight in the dim interior, if there were not photographs which show all the features which I have described.

It is now necessary to approach the problem of the age of this fascinating little structure. There are two sharply-opposed opinions thereon. One is that although the *ecclesiola* may have been founded by Aldhelm, the building in its present form dates from a much later epoch. Even Sir Thomas Jackson seems to incline to this view, although he gives good reasons for believing that this is really Aldhelm's church and no other. He suggests that the design and workmanship are too mature for so remote a year as 705, but, with his usual impartiality, quotes William of Malmesbury against himself.

The other opinion is simply that St. Laurence's Church is the *ecclesiola* built about 705 by St. Aldhelm and mentioned by William of Malmesbury.

It is, in the first place, often forgotten that in the VIIIth century England was to all appearance in a much better condition than it was in the xth. There



was much literary and artistic activity. Bede was a man who would have shone in the days of the Antonines. Aldhelm would have made a very distinguished figure in the last days of the Roman Empire in the West; and there was building on a quite magnificent scale. Wilfrid as a builder, considering his environment, ranks with the greatest of the builder-bishops of late-mediæval England. The descriptions of his cathedral at Hexham render it abundantly clear that it was no mere chapel, but a fully-developed Romanesque basilica with main arcade, triforium and clerestory. Stress is laid upon the three stories, the beautiful columns, the frescoes and statuary, which adorned the sanctuary. If Wilfrid could erect such a building in the remote and backward North, why should Aldhelm have been unable to do the like in the far richer and more civilised South? It should be remembered, too, that excellent building stone is abundant near Bradford-on-Avon, and on that account those able to work it would have been easier to find. To all appearance Aldhelm's church at Malmesbury was comparable with Wilfrid's basilica at Hexham, and the architects who could construct such edifices were quite capable of erecting the *ecclesiola* of Bradford-on-Avon.

It is of course possible that Aldhelm, like Wilfrid, employed foreign artists and craftsmen. This is possible, but is not at all a necessary inference. What Wilfrid and Benedict Biscop were forced to do in the North need not have been necessary in the South. Whether any shadow of the ancient Roman building guilds had survived the anarchy of 450-590 cannot be stated, but this is certain—that there were in the

South plenty of good Roman models, in some kind of imperfect preservation, and any quantity of good Roman material to be obtained at the expense of demolition and cartage. Wilfrid certainly used at Hexham masonry taken from the ruins of Corstopitum and the wall forts. There were ready to Aldhelm's hand the ruins of many villas as well as of important buildings at Bath, Gloucester and Cirencester. And all the argument in the world will not demolish the fact that in the VIIIth century the English were building large and fine churches. On general grounds there is no sound reason to doubt that this well-designed, well-executed little structure is nothing more nor less than the *ecclesiola* of St. Aldhelm.

The two strange bas-reliefs seem to support the belief that the church belongs to the VIIIth century. Sir Thomas Jackson thought that they were copied from some Byzantine ivory or woven stuff. I should be disposed to say that the model was beyond doubt of the latter nature. There is in the Victoria and Albert Museum a fragment of Egyptian tapestry of about the vth-vith centuries which has precisely the same general characteristics as the right-hand Bradford relief. The drapery is transparent, with the outline of the legs to the knee indicated as showing through it. The reliefs seem to be fairly faithful copies of some such subject executed on a textile ground. Nor have they anything of the grotesque appearance which is found in European Romanesque sculpture of later centuries. Now when Aldhelm, Wilfrid and Benedict Biscop were busy church-building in Britain, communication with Rome was comparatively easy, and



## Artistic Activity in Saxon England 165

Rome was under direct Byzantine rule—more of a Byzantine city than ever before or afterwards. There is similar figure-sculpture on the stone crosses at Bewcastle and Ruthwell in the wall region, which are both of the date 670–680. This burst of artistic activity in England very quickly died out; the fatal blow was undoubtedly dealt by the Viking ravages. But while it lasted it was surprisingly brilliant. Indeed, the period 670–740 was such a Golden Age that there is not a grain of solid reason for doubting that it was signalised by great works of art no less than remarkable achievements in literature. St. Laurence's Church is not remarkable in size, but as a work of art it stands high.

The existence of this little jewel of English Romanesque art is useful as a corrective to that habit of thought which will have it that England was always far behind the Continent in every respect. As a matter of fact it was usually well on a level, often very much in front. Bede, for example, as man, writer and historian, was literally ages ahead of Gregory of Tours. Sir Charles Oman has recently attacked the long-held opinion that England was in any sense improved by the Norman Conquest, and, right or wrong, his opinion is of very great value. In the present case architecture is in question. The comparison already made with the cathedral of Winchester may be emphasised, for if for purposes of argument it be granted that the little building at Bradford-on-Avon was rebuilt or remodelled at a date later than the VIIIth century, it may be claimed that in either case its art and craftsmanship are far better than those of Walkelyn's



Norman building at Winchester. In fact the workmanship of the latter, beside the beautiful masonry and highly-finished ornamentation of Bradford, might almost be called barbarous. The little structure on the slope by the Avon in fact teaches a very useful historical lesson.

### THE PARISH CHURCH

After the problems and the fascination of the *ecclesiola* of St. Aldhelm, the present parish church of Bradford-on-Avon appears extremely commonplace and uninteresting. Yet were it not overshadowed in historical interest by its ancient neighbour, it would deserve more than passing mention as an example of a town church which, at various periods, was enlarged to suit the needs of a growing population.

In its original form the building dates from the XIIIth century, but it was enlarged in the Decorated and Perpendicular periods. It now consists of a nave with a north aisle and a chapel on the south side, a chancel and a western tower surmounted by a blunt spire. The church was in a very much dilapidated condition in 1865, but in that year a restoration was initiated by Canon Jones, the same enthusiastic rector to whom is due the preservation of the *ecclesiola* of St. Aldhelm. In consequence the appearance of antiquity has been to a great extent lost. The south wall of the nave is the original Norman work, so also is the western limb of the chancel, and two of the Norman windows survive, but the arcades are modern, as is the roof of the chancel.

The eastern portion of the chancel is Decorated, and the east window is as fine an example of the period as is to be found in any English town church. The tower is a Late Perpendicular structure of no special merit, neither is the rather blunt spire notable either by reason of dimensions or architecture. The Hall or Kingston Chapel contains nothing of great interest; the principal monuments of the family are in the chancel.

On the south side is a recess-tomb of a knight, probably one of the Halls, and on the north side that of a female believed to be Agnes Hall (died 1270). The effigies are much mutilated, but both appear to be of the XIIIth century. There is a third fragmentary effigy, also of a female, in this part of the church. A brass commemorates the clothier, Thomas Horton, to whose liberality was probably due the building of the tower, and there is another of 1601 to a certain Anne Long.

Just within the chancel rail is the pretentious Georgian tomb of Charles Steward, of Tokenham, son of the Rev. Richard Steward, Clerk of the Closet to Charles I., Provost of Eton and Dean designate of Westminster.

According to the pedigree, Charles Steward was the only son of Richard, by his wife, a daughter of Sir William Button, of Tokenham. He, however, claimed to be a son, *born in lawful wedlock*, of Charles II. Clearly he believed it, since the statement is made in his epitaph, but whether there were solid grounds for the belief cannot be determined. It is possible. The amours of Charles were many, and it may be

that he overcame the reluctance of some of his victims by going through some religious ceremony with them. Dr. Steward was certainly in Jersey in the summer of 1650 with Charles, who seems to have been much attached to him. Is it possible that he induced him to adopt one of his illegitimate sons? If so, this "Charles Steward" may actually have been the mysterious child of Charles by Marguerite de Carteret, who has been claimed with much less probability to have been "the Man in the Iron Mask." The whole subject, however, is so obscure that it is impossible to pursue it, fascinating as it certainly is.

Of greater historical interest are the memorials to the Methuens, who founded the fine cloth manufacture of Bradford in the xviii<sup>th</sup> century, and in after years gave several men of considerable eminence to the country. Elsewhere is the tomb of Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Shrapnel, the clever artilleryman, who invented the famous shell filled with bullets with which his name is associated. Wellington and his artillery officers wrote again and again to the inventor to congratulate him upon the efficacy of his invention. He was, however, rather shabbily treated by the Government, and though his experiments cost him large sums of money, he was never reimbursed. Consequently at his death in 1842, at the great age of eighty, he considered himself as a disappointed and ill-used man.

The wall tablet of the Shrapnels gives the pedigree of the family from 1688 to 1849. His eldest surviving son settled in Canada in 1866-7, and his numerous descendants are domiciled all over the Dominion.



## CHAPTER VIII

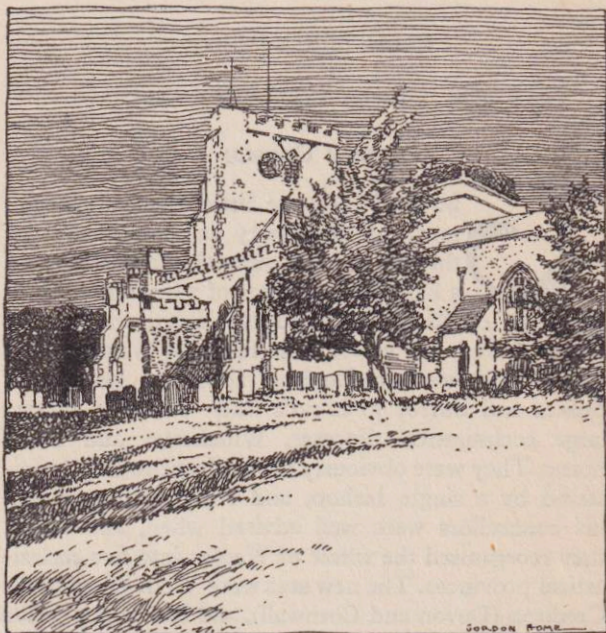
### RAMSBURY CHURCH AND LACOCK ABBEY

#### RAMSBURY CHURCH

**T**he picturesque little thatched village-town of Ramsbury is noteworthy for the fact that for more than a century and a half it was the seat of a bishopric. Until the reign of King Eadweard the Elder, the warrior son of Alfred, the whole wide realm of Wessex—that is, all south-western England from the borders of Sussex and Surrey to Land's End—consisted of two large ecclesiastical dioceses, Winchester and Sherborne. They were obviously far too large to be administered by a single bishop, and King Eadweard and his counsellors were well advised when, about 910, they reorganised the whole of Wessex into five ecclesiastical provinces. The new sees were Wells (Somerset), Crediton (Devon and Cornwall), and Ramsbury (Wilts and Berkshire). In 1058 the sees of Sherborne and Ramsbury were united under Bishop Hermann of Lotharingia, and seventeen years later, by direction of the Council of London, Hermann removed his seat to Old Sarum, thus ending the ecclesiastical supremacy of Ramsbury.

The cathedral of Ramsbury was probably not a

large building. Certainly the episcopal revenue was scanty, and there was no proper chapter. No doubt Hermann was anxious to exchange it for Sherborne,



RAMSBURY CHURCH

It is mainly Early English or Perpendicular, but represents a very early structure which was the cathedral of a Saxon see.

and when the two sees were united he lived at the latter place.

The foundations of the ancient cathedral were dis-

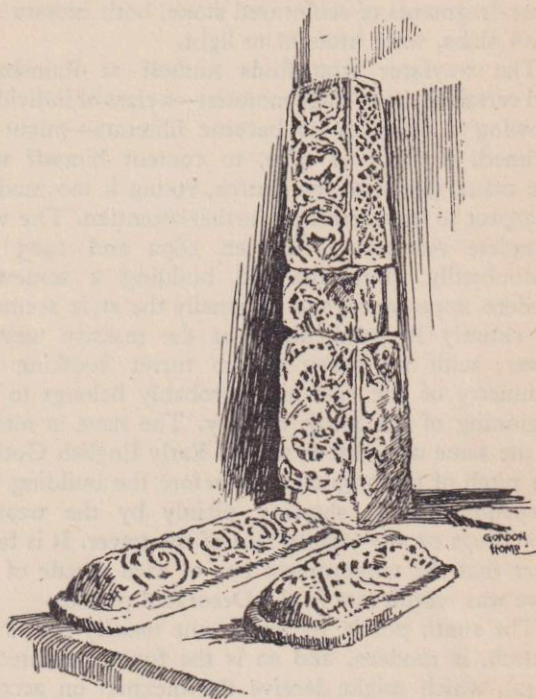
covered when the present church was restored: they indicate that it lay parallel with its successor. Also some fragments of sculptured stone, both crosses and grave slabs, were brought to light.

The wayfarer who finds himself at Ramsbury, and certainly the average motorist—a class of individual showing a tendency to become illiterate—might be inclined, if short of time, to content himself with one casual glance at the church, voting it too modern in aspect to be worth any further attention. The very complete restoration between 1892 and 1905 has undoubtedly given the old building a somewhat modern appearance, and externally the style seems to be entirely Perpendicular, but the massive western tower, with its heavy corner turret breaking the symmetry of the east side, probably belongs to the beginning of the XIIIth century. The nave is mainly of the same age, that is to say, Early English Gothic; the pitch of the original roof, before the building was Perpendicularised, showing plainly by the weather mouldings on the eastern face of the tower. It is fairly clear that the westernmost bay of each arcade of the nave was rebuilt late in the Decorated period.

The south porch, by which one usually enters the church, is modern, and so is the font (presented in 1842), which might deceive the inexpert on account of the quaint sculptured representations of Old Testament stories cut by Mr. Thomas Meyrick; but at the west end of the north aisle there is the small collection of pre-Conquest sculptured fragments already mentioned. The shaft of a headless cross is composed of three stones bearing interlaced designs



composed in part of long-tailed monsters twisted into such contortions that the biting of the tail seems



SAXON CROSS-SHAFT AND SARCOPHAGUS LIDS IN RAMSBURY CHURCH

They belong to the period when Ramsbury was the seat of a bishopric.

a very simple and natural performance. On the front of the upper portion are three medallions, in which horse-like but two-legged quadrupeds are engaged

in the same enterprise as the dragons below, but with less apparent ease.

On the floor, at the foot of this cross-shaft, cemented into a low platform, are a number of sculptured stones, including two round-topped sarcophagus lids, covered with a scroll-work design. Adjoining is another coffin-lid, bearing on its surface a much-battered cross, with a stepped base, and a few other broken fragments complete the collection of stones.

Two pieces of Roman flue tiles might easily be overlooked. They suggest an interesting link between the first Christian edifice on this spot and the early church of Romano-British times.

At the east end of the north aisle is the Darell (sometimes spelt Dayrell) Chapel, a Perpendicular addition, containing three tombs. There is a lack of colour and ornament, which robs the chapel of interest. Light streams through white diamond panes: the large table-monument in the centre, of Purbeck marble, was long ago robbed of inscription and brasses; another table-tomb (south), also of Purbeck marble, has met with similar or worse treatment, and has been roughly patched up with cement; while the third monument has only contrived to preserve, in a state showing great ill-usage, the three panels of its front. The six matrices of the brasses alone give a faint clue to the identity of those members of the Darell family who were buried in the last-mentioned tomb.

For more than three centuries this family was settled at Littlecote, the lovely old Tudor house whose many time-worn gables nestle among trees by the brimming waters of the Kennet, between Ramsbury

and Hungerford. The last of the Darells died in 1589. He bore the name William, but earned for himself the title of "Wild Darell" on account of his evil and dissolute life. According to John Aubrey, the antiquary (1626-1697), he was something even worse, and not only lived with mistresses, but murdered their children. Aubrey tells the story in a confused manner, and makes several obvious misstatements, but the main facts seem to be proven.

Briefly, they are that Darell had an intrigue with a woman who was not his wife. It seems that she was a servant of superior class, and that her name was Bonham. Presently the birth of a child became imminent, and Darell's one anxiety was to conceal the proof of his conduct. He sent for a midwife, a Mrs. Barnes, offering her high remuneration on condition that she allowed herself to be blindfolded. The woman consented, but took note of the distance which she had to traverse; also counted the number of steps as she was led upstairs. When the blindfoldings were removed, she found herself in a handsome chamber which she guessed must belong to some great personage—amongst other things she noted its great height.

In the splendid bed lay a masked woman on the verge of childbirth. Mrs. Barnes did her office, but as soon as the child was born, a tall man of ferocious aspect strode into the room, caught up the babe, flung it into the blazing fire, and held it there with his booted foot till life was extinct. Then he heavily rewarded the trembling midwife according to promise, and despatched her home blindfolded as she had come,



but carrying with her a piece cut out of the brocaded hangings of the bed.

The deposition of the midwife is extant. There are in the Record Office documents showing that Darell was in ill-repute with his neighbours, and not otherwise a very pleasant person. Further, letters have been found tending to indicate that in 1578 Darell was being charged with a serious crime, and that this crime was the murder of the servant Bonham's child.

Aubrey says that Darell escaped from justice by bribing Sir John Popham, the Chief Justice of the King's Bench, with the reversion of his estates. It is certain that Popham did succeed to them, but he was Darell's cousin. Two investigators, Mr. Hubert Hall and Mr. Doran Webb, are inclined to discredit the entire story. In that case the midwife's deposition and the incriminating letters must all be amazing fabrications, and a highly astonishing plot against Darell on the part of his neighbours must be assumed. The arguments of Hall appear to be inconclusive—indeed, they rather evade the point. An impartial study of the problem will probably bring one to the conclusion that there must have been something more than mere fable and fancy behind the charges made against Darell. The murder of the infant in the presence of the midwife sounds wildly improbable, unless the tall man mistook his instructions. If the murderer were Wild Darell himself, he was obviously half insane. It is a strange story, and almost as difficult to clear up as the famous Gowrie conspiracy which occurred at Perth at almost the same time, and caused no little suspicion to fall on James VI. of Scotland.

That every age has a habit of looking back towards "the good old times" seems to be proved at least in regard to the middle of the XVIIIth century by an inscription near the organ to Johnathan Knackstone, Gent. He was "deprived of the organ of hearing," and his complaint could not therefore have been concerned with the strong language which was current at the time, but whoever penned the epitaph, which is dated 1745, wrote gloomily of "this degenerate age."

Two features of the north side of the choir are of interest. One is the perfectly plain Early English arcading, which may perhaps represent blocked-up windows, and the other is the fine Purbeck marble monument of Late Perpendicular date, resembling very much in type that of Chaucer in the Poets' Corner of Westminster Abbey. It has been badly damaged and only two of the pillars supporting the canopy remain. They are ornamented with a raised lozenge pattern, and the groining under the canopy is of the fan variety, with pendent bosses upon which the tracery has been given a spiral form. The writer cannot remember having seen this elsewhere, either in actuality or depicted. As in the Darell Chapel the brass has been removed, and little can be gathered from the matrix beyond the fact that an inscription came from the figure's mouth in the form of a long scroll:

Under a slab at the foot of the sanctuary steps was buried William de St. John, "Parson of Rammesbury." The inscription, which is in Norman French, gives the date 1322, and it is suggested that this incumbent, who was a Canon of Salisbury and Prebend of Rams-

bury, may have rebuilt the chancel and carried out a good deal of other reconstruction.

It is on record that Oliver Cromwell was at Ramsbury on 12th July, 1649. He had been invited to the Manor by Lord Pembroke shortly before his departure for the subjugation of Ireland. The suggestion which has been made, however, that the monuments in the church suffered ill-usage on this occasion, is most unlikely. Damage may have been done during the Commonwealth period, but there seems to be no evidence for this. The wrecking of shrines and monuments in churches was mainly carried out during the Reformation, when Henry VIII.'s great minister, Thomas Cromwell, by his wholesale transference of monastic churches into the hands of lay owners, taught the populace to disregard the sanctity of tombs.

#### LACOCK ABBEY

Lacock is perhaps the most picturesque and interesting village in Wiltshire, and is also one of a small group of quite unspoiled and romantic villages in England. Its situation is beautiful, lying, as it does, in the valley of the Avon, with green hills bounding the verdant meadow-land to east and west. Its wide street is full of ancient and picturesque houses—the visitor coming into Lacock has the feeling of having stepped from the xxth century into the xvith. Lastly, it possesses the splendid remains of a famous Augustinian convent, a beautiful church, a fine market cross, a tithe barn, and many other relics of the past.



The church has the strange dedication to St. Cyriacus, a forgotten martyr of the persecution of Diocletian, and it is worth while to ask if this implies the presence of a Roman settlement in this beautiful valley. There is little doubt that the church occupies the site of a much earlier edifice, but no part of it is prior to the xivth century, and the greater portion is Perpendicular. The most beautiful feature is the chantry on the north side of the chancel, a most delicate and delightful work of the Early Perpendicular period. There is a Renaissance table-tomb, covering the remains of Sir William Sharington, who bought the abbey from Henry VIII. at the Dissolution. Sharington was one of the most corrupt and greedy of the courtiers of that corrupt and greedy age, and England owes him a special grudge, for much of his ill-gotten gains were made by the deliberate coinage of base money at a time of deep distress.

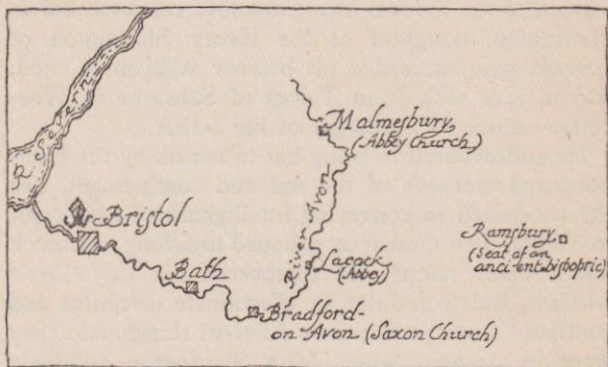
The abbey thus purchased was founded in 1232 by the Lady Ela, Countess of Salisbury, widow of William Longespée, and there, in 1261, she died at the age of seventy-four. In 1540 Sharington purchased the abbey for £783, demolished the church, and began to remodel the domestic buildings as a manor-house. It must be said for him that he showed good taste, for the Tudor work is skilfully engrafted upon the Early English architecture of the monastery, and its lovely Perpendicular cloister was preserved—a fact to be placed on the credit side of Sharington's unsatisfactory balance sheet.

Lacock Abbey is a building of remarkable beauty. The cloister is probably the most beautiful remaining

portion, but the whole pile is extraordinarily picturesque and artistically interesting. Sharington certainly cared for whatever he chose to spare of the abbey, and the Talbots, who succeeded the Sharingtons, have been even more careful of the architectural treasures in their possession.

Aubrey says that Lacock passed from the Sharingtons to the Talbots owing to a love romance. Olivia Sharington, daughter of Sir Henry Sharington of Lacock, who succeeded his brother William in 1566, was in love with John Talbot of Salwarpe in Worcester—much to the anger of her father.

He endeavoured to bring her to reason by the time-honoured methods of the rod and confinement, but she succeeded in conveying intelligence of her plight to Talbot, who thereupon galloped headlong to Lacock intent upon rescue. He discovered his lady-love's window, but to indulge in affectionate discourse and contrive an escape were two different things, and they were in despair, when Miss Sharington suddenly made up her mind to risk all and jump! Talbot broke her fall, but was himself rendered senseless, and the poor girl's cries and lamentations brought out her father and his servants. With much trouble they restored the stunned lover to consciousness, and Sir Henry then observed that since his daughter had had the pluck to leap out of the window to elope with Talbot, "she shoulde e'en marrie hym." Which she did.



SKETCH-MAP SHOWING THE POSITIONS OF THE PLACES  
MENTIONED IN THIS BOOK



# A CHRONOLOGY OF BRISTOL CATHEDRAL AND ST. MARY REDCLIFFE CHURCH

## ROMANESQUE (LATE NORMAN SCHOOL)

DATE	ABBOTS AND BUILDING DETAILS	CONTEMPORARY KINGS, ETC.
1148	<i>Richard</i> Foundation of Abbey	STEPHEN
1154	Building of Church	HENRY II.

## TRANSITIONAL SCHOOL

?	Chapter-House, etc. [First Church of St. Mary Redcliffe]	
1186	<i>John</i>	

## EARLY ENGLISH SCHOOL

1189		RICHARD I.
1199		JOHN
1216	<i>David</i> The Elder Lady Chapel begun	HENRY III.
1234	<i>William de Bradestone</i>	
1242	<i>William le Longe</i> [Rebuilding of St. Mary Red- cliffe in Early English style begun]	
1264	<i>Richard de Malmesbury</i>	
1272		EDWARD I.

# 182 Chronology of Bristol Cathedral

DATE      ABBOTS AND BUILDING DETAILS      CONTEMPORARY KINGS, ETC.

## DECORATED GOTHIC SCHOOL

1275	<i>John de Marina</i>	
1280	<i>Hugh de Dadington</i>	
1294	<i>James de Barri</i>	
1306	<i>Edmund Knowle</i>	
	Rebuilding of Choir, etc., in unique Decorated style commenced	
1307	[The North Porch of St. Mary Redcliffe]	EDWARD II.
1327		EDWARD III.
1332	<i>John Snowe</i>	
?	Completion of Choir and Lady Chapel	
1341	<i>Ralph Aske</i>	

## PERPENDICULAR GOTHIC SCHOOL

1353	<i>William Coke</i>	
1365	<i>Henry Shillingford</i>	
1377	[Commencement of rebuilding of St. Mary Redcliffe in Perpendicular style]	RICHARD II.
1388	<i>Jean de Cernay</i>	
1393	<i>John d'Aubigny</i>	
1399		HENRY IV.
1413		HENRY V.
1422		HENRY VI.
1428	<i>Walter Newberry</i>	
1451	<i>Thomas Sutton</i>	
1456	<i>Walter Newberry</i> (restored)	
1461		EDWARD IV.
1466?	Rebuilding of Central Tower	
1472	<i>William Hunt</i> [Completion of St. Mary Red- cliffe]	
1481	<i>John Newland</i> Rebuilding of Gateways, etc.	

# and St. Mary Redcliffe Church 183

DATE	ABBOTS AND BUILDING DETAILS	CONTEMPORARY KINGS, ETC.
1483		EDWARD V.
		RICHARD III.
1485		HENRY VII.
1509		HENRY VIII.
1515	<i>Robert Elyot</i>	
1526	<i>John Somerset</i>	

## RENAISSANCE INFLUENCE

1533	<i>William Burton</i>	
1537	<i>Morgan ap Gwillian</i>	
1539	Demolition of Abbey, including Nave of Church	Dissolution of Monasteries

## BISHOPS

1542	<i>Paul Bush</i>	
1547		EDWARD VI.
1553		MARY I.
1554	<i>John Holyman</i>	
1558	No Bishop	ELIZABETH
1562	<i>Richard Cheyney</i> , Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol	
1581	<i>John Bullingham</i> , Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol	
1589	<i>Richard Fletcher</i>	
1593	No Bishop	
1603	<i>John Thornborough</i>	JAMES I.
1617	<i>Nicholas Felton</i>	
1619	<i>Rowland Searchfield</i>	
1623	<i>Robert Wright</i>	
1625		CHARLES I.
1633	<i>George Coke</i>	
1637	<i>Robert Skinner</i>	
1642	<i>Thomas Westfield</i>	
1644	<i>Thomas Howell</i>	
1646	No Bishop	
1649		THE COMMONWEALTH
1653		OLIVER CROMWELL



# 184      Chronology of Bristol Cathedral

DATE	BISHOPS AND BUILDING DETAILS	CONTEMPORARY KINGS, ETC.
1658		RICHARD CROMWELL
1660		CHARLES II.
1661	<i>Gilbert Ironside, Sen.</i>	
1672	<i>Guy Carleton</i>	
1679	<i>William Gulstan</i>	
1684	<i>John Lake</i>	
1685	<i>Sir J. Trelawney</i>	JAMES II.
1689	<i>Gilbert Ironside, Jun.</i>	WILLIAM III.
		MARY II.
1691	<i>John Hall</i>	
1695		WILLIAM III. (alone)
1702		ANNE
1710	<i>John Robinson</i>	
1714	<i>George Smalridge</i>	GEORGE I.
1719	<i>Hugh Boulter</i>	
1724	<i>William Bradshaw</i>	
1727		GEORGE II.
1733	<i>Charles Cecil</i>	
1735	<i>Thomas Secker</i>	
1737	<i>Thomas Gooch</i>	
1738	<i>Joseph Butler</i>	
1750	<i>John Conybeare</i>	
1756	<i>John Hume</i>	
1758	<i>Philip Young</i>	
1760		GEORGE III.
1761	<i>Thomas Newton</i>	
1782	<i>Lewis Bagot</i>	
1783	<i>Christopher Wilson</i>	
1792	<i>Spencer Madan</i>	
1794	<i>H. R. Courtenay</i>	
1797	<i>F. H. W. Cornewall</i>	
1803	<i>George Pelham</i>	
1807	<i>John Luxmoore</i>	
1808	<i>W. L. Mansel</i>	
1820	<i>John Kaye</i>	GEORGE IV.
1827	<i>Robert Gray</i>	
1830		WILLIAM IV.
1834	<i>Joseph Allen</i>	
1836	<i>J. H. Monk</i>	
	Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol	

# and St. Mary Redcliffe Church 185

DATE	BISHOPS AND BUILDING DETAILS	CONTEMPORARY KINGS, ETC.
1837		VICTORIA
1856	<i>Charles Burney</i> , Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol	
1861	<i>William Thomas</i> Commencement of restoration of Cathedral. Entire re-building of Nave with new Western Towers	
1863	<i>C. J. Ellicott</i> , Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol	
1888	Completion of new Nave	
1892	Restoration of Elder Lady Chapel. Choir and Central Tower begun	
1895	Choir re-dedicated	
1897	<i>G. F. Browne</i> , Bishop of Bristol	
1901		EDWARD VII.
1906	<i>George Nickson</i>	
1910		GEORGE V.
1914		Great World War
1924	Reconstruction of Cloister nearly completed	

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